



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

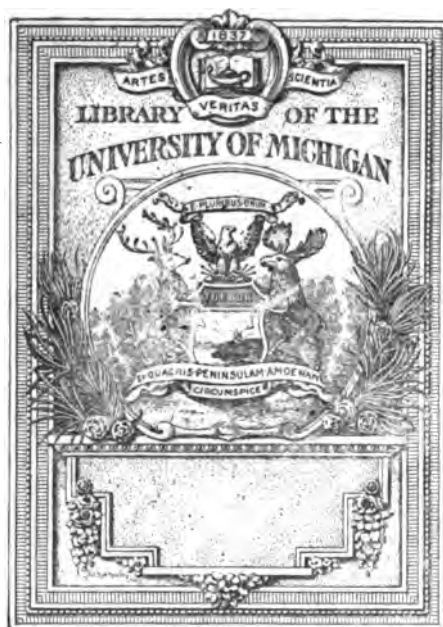
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

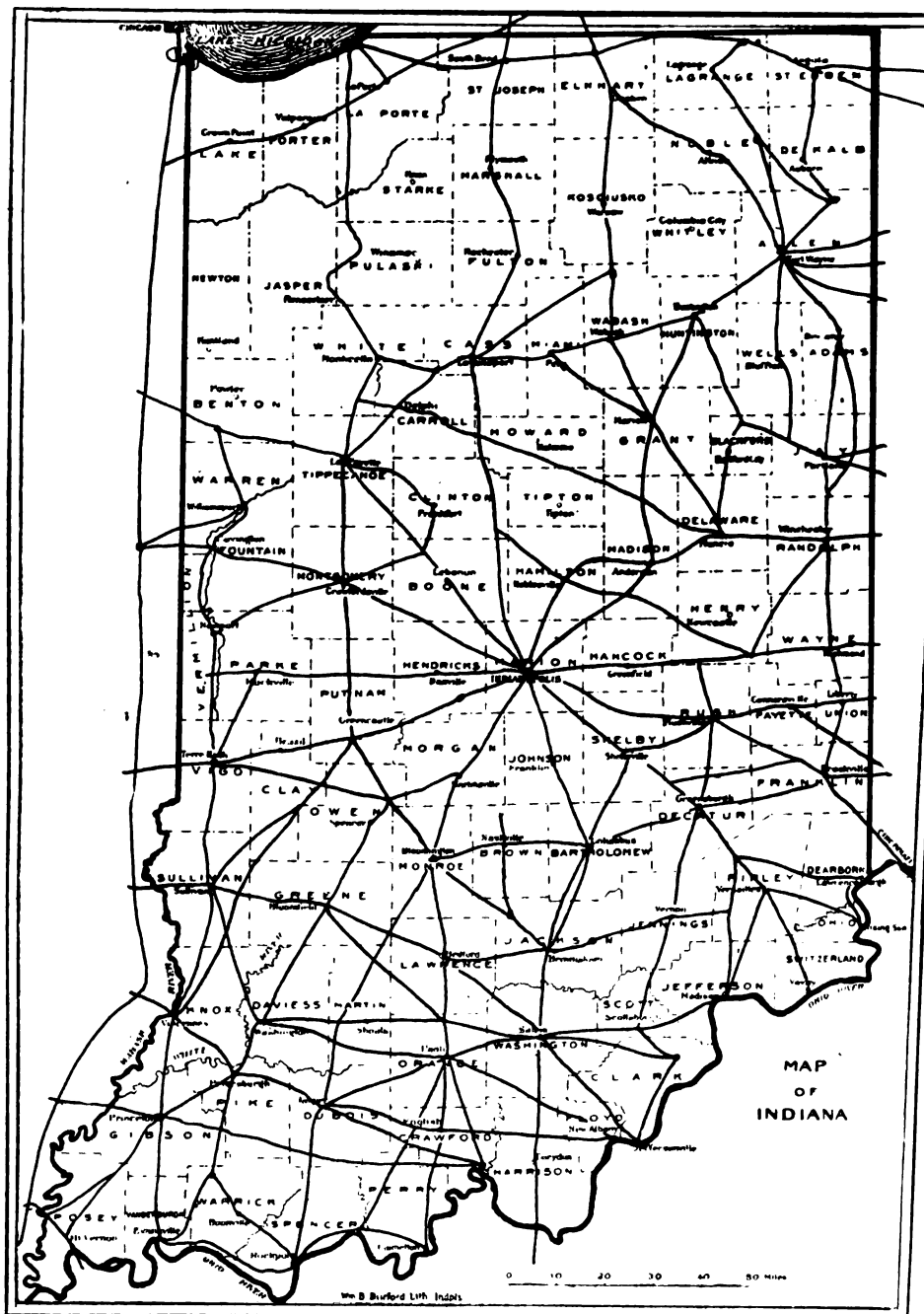
B 1,152,670



F
521
137



F
52/
13,



OLD STAGE-COACH ROUTES IN 1838.

[Sec page 21.]

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. III

MARCH, 1907

No. 1

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

EARLY MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The Ruffian Element; Early Fighting and Rude Amusements—Co-operative Tasks and Social Accompaniments; House-raising, Log-rolling, etc.; Pastimes; Pioneer Feasts; Dances and Play-Parties of the Young People—Notes by the Editor.

[This article and others of a similar character to follow are from the manuscript material for a history of Henry county, written by Mr. Benjamin S. Parker, of New Castle. The literature that exists on the early life, manners and customs of the State, while full in certain particulars, is almost silent in others, and Mr. Parker's circumstantial treatment of the subject adds much desirable information.—*Editor.*]

IN the early settlements of Henry county, as elsewhere in the middle west, there was a somewhat numerous representation of the rough border element which hung upon the outer rim of civilization to trap and hunt and, if occasion offered, fight the Indians, and to make the first rude openings in the forests. They drank, caroused, fought among themselves, and made things lively for their more decorous neighbors. Many of these, when not inflamed by drink, were generous, warm-hearted people, as ready to befriend a neighbor as to fight him if offense were given.

Upon this matter of offenses they cherished a number of peculiar notions. They would not take pay from the sojourning stranger for food and lodging, and regarded as an insult the proffering of the same. To refuse a drink of whisky when tendered gave umbrage. Any reflection upon the courage, physical strength, prowess or truthfulness of these men demanded an apology or a fight; and when the bottle was circulating freely among them the causes for offense multiplied in a sort of geometrical ratio. This class was unlettered, careless of apparel, un-

couth of speech, and, when intoxicated, abusive, profane obscene. They came largely from the mountain regions Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, though their number recruited from regions other than those mentioned.

In their hostile relations with each other they recognized unwritten code of honor which generally governed their fight and which was somewhat as follows: All fights must be 'fairly,' no man to use any kind of weapon nor take "unfair holds," and the fight must cease when one of the combatants cried "nuff." After the contest the parties were expected to shake hands, drink together and be friends. The man who disregarded the "nuff" of his beaten foe and sought to inflict further punishment, and he who transgressed the code by using a knife or other weapon was disgraced in the eyes of his fellow. As the "code" permitted striking, gouging, biting, hair-pulling, scratching, kicking and even stamping upon a fallen victim, it allowed sufficient latitude for all reasonable belligerents. The militia musters, elections, public sales, shooting-matches, and Saturday afternoons in the towns or at the cross-roads "grocery" or "coffee-house," as the drinking places were called, were the principal scenes of these passages at arms. On such occasions many a fellow who was ambitious of pugilistic renown was sent home to his family in a sadly undone condition to be nursed back to a semblance of his former self by his sympathetic wife. With the bellicose disposition as a basis, there was no lack of entrances into a quarrel and the wished-for fight. Differences of opinion were not even necessary. Neat clothing, correct speech and a gentlemanly bearing were often a sufficient provocation to the bully who had a distaste for these effeminacies, and lacking these he could, without departing too widely from recognized custom, "renown it" by drawing a circle about himself with a stick and defying anyone to enter the space thus appropriated; or sometimes, after loading up with whisky, he essayed to terrorize a town, profanely swearing he could "whup" the best man or all the men in it, till some one accommodated him. The writer was once told of a debt that, by the agreement of both parties, was settled by the approved fisticuffs of the day. One dunned another for a dollar, and the debt was disclaimed. It was proposed to fight it out, the defeated fighter to lose or

pay the money besides standing treat. The outcome was that the discomfited creditor had to forfeit his dollar and pay additional money for whisky, besides proffering the friendly hand with as much grace as he could command.

These "disturbers of the peace and dignity of the State" were, theoretically at least, amenable to the law, and their fines went to the county seminary fund. The late Judge D. D. Banta tells of one bully who used to boast that he upheld one corner of the Johnson county seminary, at Franklin.

These frontier fighters, as a rule, would sell out their lands and move elsewhere as the country about them became more thickly settled and their freedom was restricted. Not infrequently, however, enough remained to prove under other conditions that their aggressive qualities were a source of strength and capable citizenship.

The Saturday afternoon gatherings at the villages and cross-roads stores, above alluded to, were a popular feature with the early settlers of the male division and of a certain class, who there sought diversion from the toils at home. The social enjoyment of these occasions was augmented by shooting-matches, "goose-pullings," horse-racing and similar trials of skill, speed or endurance. Into most of these practices the gambling spirit entered. An incentive to the shooting-match was the possibility of winning various articles which were put up at so much a chance. These prizes were various, but usually consisted of venison, beef, corn-meal or other provisions. The mark to be shot at was, ordinarily, a board or the smooth surface of a tree boll marked with a bull's eye surrounded by two or three circles. The marksman who averaged nearest center in a given number of shots was the winner (1). These contests borrowed zest from the expertness of the average frontiersman with the rifle, and his pride in that accomplishment. With some, indeed, this expertness continued to a later day, if an anecdote that I have heard is to be credited. A Henry county volunteer in an eastern Indiana regiment during the Civil War applied for place in a squad of sharp-shooters that was being organized in the camp. He claimed some experience with the old-fashioned squirrel rifle. "Where did you have the experience, what did you shoot at,

and about what was your average success?" he was asked. "Well," was the careless response, "I hunted turkeys on the river in Henry county, Indiana. I can't tell how it averaged but my wife always used to be about two weeks behind with her pickin'."

Perhaps the rudest of the early sports was "goose-pulling." A goose or gander with its neck well greased or soaped was nailed through its webbed feet or otherwise fastened to the top of a post or the stump of a small tree at the proper height for a horseman to reach as he raced by on the full run. Dexterity to grasp the head of the fowl in passing and grip to tear it from the live and struggling body were the requirements of the prize winner (2).

The pioneer horse-races, upon which some money and the skins of raccoons and other fur-bearing "varmints" changed hands; and out of which many quarrels arose to be settled according to the backwoods code, were little more than reckless gallops along the stumpy roads or about the partially cleared fields, there being much more prospect of broken limbs than of speed. There were few speed horses in Henry county prior to 1850.

A majority of the settlers, however, were not to be classed with this ruder and more boisterous element just described. Practical and industrious, they made even their recreations fit in with the accomplishment of their tasks, and house-raising, log-rollings, wood-choppings, sawings, corn-huskings, hog-killing, wool-pickings, quiltings, apple-parings, rag-cuttings, carpet-tackings and even chicken-pickings were often converted into festive occasions by sociable cooperation. While all such gatherings for work entailed much hard, even excessive work, there was generally an abundance of fun and active enjoyment connected with them, even if a strict religious sentiment tabooed the frolics or play-games of the young people or the fiddle and dance after the work. The log-rollings and sawings gave rise to many races, the company being divided into two gangs or sections. In the case of the rollings the ground was apportioned so as to give each gang the same amount of work, and each side chose an experienced man to direct its movements. The contest, when begun, never flagged until the last log was placed

upon the heap, the section finishing first being the winners. In handling the logs there was great individual emulation and many tests of strength, particularly between the ambitious young men; which test consisted in putting a handspike under the end of a heavy log with a man at either end and proving which could pull the other down. At these and similar gatherings, after the day's work it was customary to indulge in various athletic sports, such as foot-races, wrestling-matches, "leap-frog," "tug-of-war," "crack-the-whip," "lap-jacket" and jumping, with or without the use of the pole. Pitching quoits and horseshoes were also favorite pastimes. The quoit was usually a boulder or flat stone of from twenty to sixty or more pounds in weight, which was thrown from the shoulder, the "pitcher" or "thrower" toeing a mark. The pitching of horseshoes is still so common as to be familiar to all.

A common diversion with the men and boys at corn-huskings was to sit close together in a circle on the ground or floor, with their knees drawn up so as to form a space or continuous tunnel beneath. A small roll of some kind was then started and passed invisibly from hand to hand through the space beneath the knees, this performance being accompanied with the cry of "Brogue it about! Brogue it about!" and other confusing noises and talk. One person within the circle sought to locate and capture the flying roll in the hands of some one who should exchange places with him. It was a lively game, full of fun and go, and often when the confused and eager man in the ring pounced upon some one, thinking he had the roll, another from the rear would deal him a sounding blow with it, then send it "brogueing" on. The writer never heard any name for the game other than "brogue it about!" which probably was equivalent to "move it about!" It evidently was but a more vigorous form of "seek the thimble," a children's game much in vogue, in which a thimble, passing from hand to hand, was hidden from the seeker.

A notable feature of the neighborhood gatherings was the bounteous feasting that accompanied the toil. The customary daily meals and, sometimes, lunches between, regaled the never-failing appetites engendered by long hours of hard labor in the open air. With abundant game, fish, wild fruit and the prod-

ucts of the gardens and fields to draw upon, and with plenty of skilled and willing feminine hands to prepare the same, there was no lack of cheer. Venison, roast turkey, fried chicken, hominy, ham and eggs, potatoes, roast pig, wild honey, steaming cornbread or sweet pone, with hot biscuit for dainty folk, old-fashioned gingerbread with crab-apple preserves, jellies, tarts and pies, and plenty of good milk and butter, make a partial list of the good things at the command of the pioneer housewife when she wished to make a spread, and the neighbor guests commanded the best to be had.

The incidental social life above described did not, however, fulfill the requirements of the young unmarried folks among the pioneers. With them the social features, although they might be prefaced by a day's or half-day's work, were the prime incentive. There must always be some excuse of necessary toil to justify the gathering, but the husking, the wood-chopping or the quilting-bee was followed in the evening not only by a supper but by a frolic of some kind. In the new villages the dance and the masquerade were most in vogue, although the games and play-parties were also popular there as they were in the country. At first the dances were quadrilles and jigs, but in a few years the round dances—waltzes, schottishes, polkas, mazurkas, etc.—were introduced. Ben Custer, of blessed memory, was teaching them to the boys and girls of Henry county fifty or sixty years ago. But the prevalence of the drink habit and the ill repute that whisky and disturbances gave to these dances caused the ministers and churches to make war upon them, and to a large extent they became exiled from the better country neighborhoods.

In the country the forfeit plays and the marching plays accompanied by songs were the chief amusements. "Keeping post-office," "building the bridge," "picking cherries," and numerous others were "forfeit" games. Of the marching plays may be mentioned "We're marching down to old Quebec," "I suppose you've heard of late of George Washington the Great," "Come Philander, let's be a-marching," "Sailing on the boat when the tide runs high," "King William was King James's son," "We are marching in to the Ivory Ol" "Charley Cole," "Old Dusty Miller," "Jersies Blue, to you I call," and "Oh! Sister

Phoebe, how merry were we the night we sat under the juniper tree," not to mention at least fifty more that were high in favor with backwoods beau and rustic belle. They were sung as the players marched, often with little regard to tune or time, but with an interest and energy that seldom flagged. They usually wound up with kissing songs, such as:

"Down on this carpet you must kneel,
And kiss your true love in the field;
Kiss her now and kiss her then
And kiss her when you meet again."

Or, two persons of opposite sex would join hands around a young man, and, holding their arms up so that his partner must pass under them, sing:

"Come under, come under,
My honey, my love,
My heart's above,
My heart's gone a weeping below Galilee," etc.,

Finishing with an assurance that the gentle swain who awaits her coming will "neither hang her nor drown her," but gently kiss her sweet lips, or words to that effect. The number and variety of these kissing-songs were as great as of the marching songs, which seemed, many of them, to come down through centuries of frolic and fun, and yet ever bearing an undertone of sorrow and affliction that wars and parting bring to the young. Though the miscellaneous touchings of the lips that these old marching plays required were considerable, they were far outrivalled in this respect by the forfeit plays in which the forfeits were all kisses. Besides the afore-mentioned plays, there were such lively exercises as "drop the handkerchief," "the hindmost of three," and "hiding the thimble." There were a good many guessing games, among them "grunt," in which one of the players, blindfolded, guessed at the identity of the others from a grunt uttered by them, usually in a disguised voice.

The charade came in later, perhaps, and still lingers, along with "Old Dusty Miller" as survivals of the plays and games of early times. There were also many letter- and word-games, as, "Ship's come to town!" the response being, "What's it loaded with?" to be answered with the name of an article beginning

with the letter then being used, as, apes, apricots, anarchists etc., this being continued till the vocabulary of the players was taxed to the utmost. Others were "bobbing the apple," "pussy wants a corner," and "going to market." In the latter game each person in a circle was given the name of some part of the wagon or harness, such as wheel, tongue, hames etc. A story by one was reeled off about "going to market," in which the impromptu *reconteur* alluded as he saw fit to wheel tongue, hames, or the other parts, and the players bearing those names were, whenever they were mentioned, to rise up on the instant, turn around and sit down again. If, caught unaware, one failed to do this, he had to pay a forfeit. "Sociability," "weev'ly wheat," and "four hands 'round" were compromise dances that were indulged in when dancing, so-called, was forbidden.

One amusement brought into Henry county from the South a good many years before the Civil War was the dancing picnic or *Fete Champetre*, to which the people came with their basket dinners for the purpose of a day's social converse and enjoyment heightened by their favorite exercise. Sometimes the dance was held in a new barn or upon a green lawn, but the usual way was to clear off a circular piece of ground in some beautiful grove, cover it over with clean, new sawdust, and arrange the seats about it with a platform at one side for the musicians. Those who danced "paid the fiddler," but all who chose to come were made welcome. This form of amusement was very popular in southern Henry, Rush, Fayette and southwestern Wayne counties.

EDITORIAL NOTES. 1. The best description known to us of the old-time shooting-match is in Baynard R. Hall's "New Purchase" (ed. 1855, pp. 105-112). The prize on the occasion described was a barrel of whisky; the distances stepped off and marked, eighty-five yards off-hand and one hundred yards with rest. The rests were various, some of the marksmen driving forked stakes in the ground and placing on these a horizontal piece, some using a common chair, some lying flat with a chunk or stone before them for a support and yet others standing beside a tree with the barrel near its muzzle pressed against the

boll. For targets each man had a shingle carefully prepared with, first, a charcoal-blackened space, and on this for a ground a piece of white paper about an inch square. From the center of the paper was cut a small diamond-shaped hole, which, of course, showed black, and two diagonal lines from the corners of this intersected each other at the center of the diamond, thus fixing the exact center of the target. About this point, with a radius of four inches, a circle was drawn, and any shots striking outside of this circle lost the match to the marksman. Each contestant had three shots, and if all struck within the circle and outside of exact center the measurement was taken from the center to the inner edges of the different bullet holes. The distances added together made the shooters "string," and the shortest string won the prize. This was called "line" shooting. On rare occasions accidents happened at these shooting-matches. Hall tells of two. It was the custom for the score-keeper to conceal himself behind the tree on which the target was fixed. On one occasion a rifle hung fire, and the scoresman peeped inquiringly from the tree just in time to catch the belated bullet. Another time the tree, unbeknown to the shooters, was hollow, and the bullet passing through the shell pierced the man on the other side. Another story of Hall's tells how a boastful young marksman was chagrined by an old hunter who on a wager "bewitched" his rifle by passing his hand along the barrel and over the muzzle with an incantation, so that the shooter missed the whole tree. The art of witching consisted in deftly depositing in the mouth of the gun a small bullet, which sent its own bullet awry.

2. Gander-pulling as practiced in the Tennessee mountains is graphically described by George Egbert Craddock in one of her novels. We find little mention of it as a custom in Indiana, and do not believe that it was very common here.

3. Of the games mentioned by Mr. Parker, "forfeits," "grunt," "ship's come to town," "going to market," "drop the handkerchief," "pussy wants a corner," and "weev'ly wheat" are well known at the present day, the three last-named, especially, being common among children's amusements. The old marching games are dying out and are now to be found only in the more remote country districts. A collection of the plays, giving

steps, songs and music, and a study of their origin, before it is too late, is a thing much to be desired. In the boyhood day of the editor they still survived in Franklin township, Marion county, and he remembers some that may be added to Mr. Parker's list. Our recollection is that all or nearly all of them had in them the elements of the dance—rhythm of step and music—and that they were usually adopted where the religious sentiment of the neighborhood frowned upon dancing. The added feature of miscellaneous kissing was so invariably a part of the games that these parties were familiarly and vulgarly known as "gum-sucks." Many of the songs in air and measure were so similar that one readily glided into another. The accompanying steps and figures were, not infrequently, similar to the quadrille, or else a marching step with simple evolutions. The words had a primitive folk-lore quality, sense and relevance being quite secondary to rhythm, as a few specimens we remember will illustrate. One of these was:

"Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo,
Just from Shiloh, skiptumaloo.
Skiptumaloo, my darling!"

Another, with a slight altering of the tune, ran:

"Keep one window tidy oh,
Keep two windows tidy oh,
Keep three windows tidy oh,
Jingle at the window tidy oh!
Jingle at the window tidy oh!"

Our recollection of the above is that they were dances rather than marches. In another the players formed two parallel lines facing each other. A girl, followed by a boy, marched up between the lines, and at the end they returned, she behind the line of girls, he behind the boys. This was repeated, the pace increasing as the song grew faster, the girl's object being to reach the lower end first and evade her partner, who, when he caught her, was entitled to a kiss. The accompanying song was:

"Chase the squirrel, if you please,
Chase the squirrel, if you please,
Chase the squirrel, if you please,
And catch your love so handy.

"A little faster, if you please,
A little faster, if you please,
A little faster, if you please,
And catch your love so handy."

The song waxed "a little faster" each time, until the consummation. Another, into which the preceding could easily glide, was:

"Oh, yonder comes my sweetheart, and how do you do?
And how have you been since I last saw you?
The war is all over, and peace is in the land;
Can't you wish us joy by the raising of your hands?"

The two lines of players, at the last, raised their clasped hands so as to form an arch under which the united couple passed to take their places at the upper end. Another we remember, which, little else than a Virginia reel with a vocal accompaniment, ran:

"Do ce do, to your best liking,
Do ce do, to your best liking,
Do ce do, to your best liking,
And swing your love so handy!"

It is somewhat remarkable that in our many local histories there is little or no mention of these games that have been so prominent in the early social life of the State, and, as suggested above, there is an unworked field here for the student of early customs.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT IN INDIANA.

NO. I.—THE FIRST THOROUGHFARES.

The Indian Trails—Pioneer Traces—The First Road System; Legislation of 1820; Road Building in that Decade; Wretched Character of the Highways and Difficulties of Early Travel.

[This article on Early Thoroughfares, originally prepared for State Geologist, W. S. Blatchley, to form a chapter in the thirtieth annual geological report, is here reprinted as the first of a series that will deal with the principal internal improvement works that have developed within the State. The plan, as at present conceived, will take up besides these thorough road improvements, canals and railroads.—*Editor.*]

THE first thoroughfares of Indiana, while somewhat remote perhaps, from present interests, have yet some relation to the after history of the State, besides possessing a certain historical interest of their own. Of these primitive ways for travel and transportation the earliest, long antedating the white man's advent, were the Indian trails—narrow, winding routes beaten by many feet traveling in single file, and akin to the paths made by animals. It should be noted, however, that there was one radical distinction between them and the animal paths, for while the latter had the feeding grounds for their termini, the former, primarily, conducted from abiding place to abiding place. In other words, the human propensity for intercommunication as distinguished from mere gregariousness was revealed by those obscure forest highways, and by virtue of that they were something other than mere random ways—they were a system.

If this system could be restored in a chart we would be surprised, no doubt, to find what a network it formed, reaching over the country in various directions. No such restoration would be possible now, however, for, though there are many allusions to them in our local histories, what information we have about these old trails is scattered, meager and indefinite. About all we know is that the various tribes and bands of Indians occupied each their own territory, usually along the valleys of the principal rivers, and that they visited to and fro more or less for the purposes of counsel or other reasons. Between the tribes of this

region little hostility is recorded, and there seems to have been considerable friendly intercourse and formal visiting among them. Following the rivers from town to town, and across from valley to valley, their paths can be traced. It is likely that the Miami town of Ke-ki-on-ga, where Ft. Wayne now stands, was, from its important command of the Wabash portage, the converging point of many trails, for Little Turtle, in his speech before Anthony Wayne at the treaty of Greenville, refers to the place as "that glorious gate through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south, and from the east to the west."

At the junction of Fall creek and White river, also, several paths seem to have met, by reason, it is said, of a good ford across the river that existed there. Such at least has been affirmed by the late J. H. B. Nowland, a very early pioneer of Indianapolis, who has told the writer definitely of several trails—one from Vincennes, one from the falls of the Ohio, one from the Whitewater, and others from the upper Delaware towns on White river and the Pottawattamie and Miami towns on the Wabash, all of which converged at this point. The one westward from the Whitewater valley ran about where the Pennsylvania railroad now has its right-of-way and that from the Ohio falls paralleled the present Jeffersonville railroad. The latter route was, seemingly, traveled by all the Pottawattamies, Miamis and Delawares of the upper Wabash and White rivers in their excursions to the Kentucky hunting grounds, as, after crossing the above-mentioned ford, it sent off branches to the towns of those tribes.

The Indian pathmaker not infrequently marked the way for the white man's thoroughfares, and his work was thus perpetuated in the civilization of his successors. Out of his thorough knowledge of the topography of the country he found out the best routes, not only for his kind of traveling, but for the kind of traveling that was to come after. When James Blake and William Conner viewed, as commissioners, the first road between Indianapolis and Ft. Wayne, they found after leaving White river that they could not improve upon the judgment of the Indians as shown in their old trace.

One of the earliest wagon-ways out of Indianapolis, the old Centerville road, which led to Wayne county before the coming of the National Road, was laid out on the Whitewater trail above referred to, just south of the Pennsylvania tracks, an mention may be found here and there of other roads that were similarly determined. Moreover, the earliest pioneers were benefited directly by these aboriginal trails, for not only did they first follow them from one place to another through the otherwise trackless wilderness in search of desirable regions but their rude "traces" for subsequent ingress and egress were frequently but their improvement on the red man's too-narrow footpath. Perhaps it is not venturing too much to say that they were at times an influence in the locating of white settlements. For instance, the first settlers on the spot where Indianapolis now stands were, if tradition is to be trusted, led hither by the Whitewater trail. When the commissioners appointed by the legislature came to locate the capital, the presence of the squatters at the mouth of Fall creek was undoubtedly a factor in determining the choice of that spot; and so it might not be considering too curiously to reason out a relation between this obscure path through the forest primeval and the exact locating of the State's capital with all that that implies.

Before anything like permanent roads could be established a considerable population of settlers had taken up lands in the interior of the State, and there had to be makeshift thoroughfares not only for guidance to various localities, but for the transportation of the immigrant's possessions. These traces, as they were called, were the rudest of forest roads, cleared away sufficiently to permit the passage of the mover's wagons, and marked along the route by "blazing" or marking the trees with an axe.* These traces from east and south, with their various branches leading to this or that settlement, were well known to the immigrants in their day, but, like the Indian trails, they are long since obliterated, and, for the most part, only vague allusions to them are to be found in local histories. Of at least two of them, however, some record has been preserved, and these are of special interest because they were the trunk lines, so to speak, over

*A road running southward from Indianapolis, called to the present day the "Three Notch Road," took its name from the three distinguishing ax marks.

which the first waves of immigration found their way in to people the central portion of the State. They were known respectively as the Berry and Whetzel traces.

The Berry trace, marked out by a Captain John Berry, or, as Judge Banta gives it, Richard Berry, joined and followed the Ohio Falls Indian trail above mentioned, which crossed White river at Fall creek. It was the chief line of travel from the south. The best account of this route is given by Mr. Nowland in describing the journey of his family to Indianapolis from Kentucky in 1820. According to him it began at Napoleon, Ripley county (south of that being settled country), and thence ran almost west to a point on Flatrock river about nine miles north of where Columbus now stands. At the end of this stage of perhaps thirty miles stood the first house after leaving Napoleon. Then the trace turned north to follow the said Indian trail, and this, with two or three more cabins on the way, brought them to the embryo capital. Further information concerning the pioneer whose name has been perpetuated by his old trace the present writer has been unable to glean.

What was known as the Whetzel trace was made in 1818 by Jacob Whetzel, one of the four brothers famous in the annals of Indian warfare. It afforded ingress from the already settled Whitewater region on the east, and is also described by Mr. Nowland. It began, he tells us, in Franklin county, somewhere near where Laurel now stands, ran west till it struck the Flatrock river seven miles below the site of Rushville, thence to the Blue river where Marion and Shelby counties join, thence west to the bluffs of White river. This was the most notable of all these early traces, for by it, we are told, hundreds of immigrants came to settle Shelby, Morgan, Johnson and Marion counties. Those bound for the new capital followed it till it reached the Berry trace, then turned north on the latter, and many of the first families of Indianapolis were beholden to the sturdy old Indian fighter for his unrequited service, which, indeed, he had performed at no small cost to himself. He and his son Cyrus, with the help of four good axemen, cleared the way for "a width sufficient to admit the passage of a team," as Judge Banta tells us, through vast stretches of tangled forest and swamp lands where of nights they had to build up brush piles to sleep on.

In 1825 a petition, presented to the legislature by William Conner in behalf of Jacob Whetzel, prayed compensation for cutting of this road, the eastern terminus being there designated as "Summerset." Said petition, along with various others, was referred to a committee on roads, which reported back that, "in the opinion of the committee, it would be inexpedient to legislate on any of the aforesaid petitions." (See House Journal 1825, pp. 89 and 170.)

At the intersection of the Whetzel and Berry traces (about two miles southwest of Greenwood, in Johnson county), a man named Daniel Loper "squatted" and offered entertainment, after a fashion, to incoming travelers. Before long, however, a fellow named Nathan Bell ousted Loper by falsely representing himself as the legal purchaser of the land, and next took possession of the desirable point, where for a good while he kept a disreputable sort of a place, surrounded by "his clan of adherents, generally bold, bad men," the history of which place and clan would, according to Judge Franklin Hardin, a reminiscence of Johnson county, "make a large volume." Loper moved along the trace some miles farther east, and, still bent on "entertaining," pitched his shanty on Hurricane creek, where was the first good water and the first good camping place after coming out of the swamps. He stayed there a couple of years, then went on none know whither, but his pole cabin, long known as Loper's, continued to be a favorite halting place for incoming travelers, the dilapidated hut being facetiously dubbed the "Emigrant's Hotel." Judge Hardin describes the place as several acres trodden over by men and animals, with many inclosures of poles and brush put up by sojourners to keep their stock from wandering.

By 1826 Whetzel's trace was no longer used, at least at the west end, being impeded with fallen trees. By this time, too, many State roads were being opened into the interior, and the need for the first traces ceased to exist. Not having a legalized right-of-way it was in time, of course, taken up by private owners as the land was entered, and so long since lost the last evidence of its identity.

It was not until four years after Indiana had been admitted as a State that any definite system of roads was projected within her

borders. Prior to that general laws had been framed touching the opening of highways, for with the first tides of immigration, of course, came the question of intercommunication; but they provided only for the opening of local roads on petition. In those first years there was little pressing need for other than local roads, for Indiana was, for the most part, strung along the Ohio and Wabash rivers, which were the generally used, natural highways. Versailles, Vernon and Brownstown, but a few miles back from the Ohio, were, until 1820, on the extreme frontier, the vast country on the north and west of them being an unbroken wilderness, and the principal centers were contiguous to one or the other of the two rivers named.

In 1820, however, there arose new reasons for extensive road-making. The great tract known as the "New Purchase," comprising all the central portion of the State and as far north as the upper Wabash, was thrown open to settlers in that year. Somewhere in the heart of this territory the seat of government was to be located at once and it was obvious that the capital and the settlers who would people the newly acquired tract must have some way of reaching the older parts of the country and the world's markets. This would seem to be the rational explanation of the sudden legislation on State roads that appears in the statutes at this time. In 1820 not less than twenty-six roads were projected, and as many sets of commissioners appointed to view the lands and mark out the routes. The roads not only connected the older towns of the State, but extended into the interior. Five were to lead to the proposed capital, and one was from Lawrenceburg to Winchester, this latter being by a subsequent act extended to Fort Wayne. During the next ten years there was repeated and lengthy legislature on this subject of State roads, showing the paramount importance of highways in the early days of the new commonwealth. Many other roads were added to the original system, some were relocated, and there were various modifications. In the main, however, the first ideas were carried out, and on a road map of 1835, now existing, at least two-thirds of the State is pretty well criss-crossed with highways other than the local or country roads.

The revenue and labor for the opening and maintaining of these roads were derived from three distinct sources. The first was known as the three per cent. fund, and was a donation from

the general government. Out of the sale of public lands five per cent. was set aside for purposes of internal improvement. Of this, two per cent. was to be expended by the United States for works of general benefit—such, for example, as the National Road—and the remaining three per cent. was given to the State for improvements within her borders. Into this fund there were paid, altogether, the sum of \$575,547.75.* A special agent was appointed for disbursing the fund, and his duties were defined at length.

Another internal revenue was derived from a "road tax" levied upon real estate. Farm lands were assessed "an amount equal to half the amount of State tax," and town lots "an amount equal to half the county tax." Non-resident land-owners were assessed an amount equal to both half the State and half the county tax. Such road tax the land-owner was entitled to deduct in charge in work on the roads (see Acts of 1825).

The third source of maintenance was a labor requirement which made it incumbent on all male inhabitants between the ages of twenty-one and fifty, except preachers and certain other exemptions, to work on the roads two days in each year, when called out, or pay an equivalent thereof. In the New Purchase, where the labor necessary was still greater than farther south, the demand was for four days each year, but this provision was repealed in 1827.

But establishing roads by legislative enactment was only a first and very inadequate step toward easy travel and transportation. Moreover, it was not altogether a satisfactory first step. For then, as now, there was much log-rolling, self-seeking and lack of economy in public works, and in Governor Ray's message of 1825 the question was raised as to whether the large expenditures "have answered the expectations of the public"—whether they had not been used extravagantly in the employment of too many commissioners, in the opening of useless roads, and in suffering roads to become useless by a second growth and the failure to keep in repair. Aside from this, after the highways were cut out and the labor of the population expended upon them they were hardly more practicable than the drift-choked stream which were fondly regarded as navigable.

Of the atrocious character of those early highways much has

*Elbert Jay Benton, in "The Wabash Trade Route," p. 41.

been said, and yet the subject, seemingly, has never been given justice. From the hills of the southern counties to the prairies beyond the Wabash, the State was, for the most part, a level plain covered with a forest that shut out the sun from the rank mold, and this, like a sponge, held the accumulated waters. Vast areas were nothing but swamps, which the streams never fully drained.* Most of the year a journey over the roads was simply a slow, laborious wallowing through mud; the bogs were passable only by the use of "corduroy," and this corduroy of poles laid side by side for miles not infrequently had to be weighted down with dirt to prevent floating off when the swamp waters rose. In a book called "The New Purchase," which purports to depict life in central Indiana in the early twenties, the wagon trip to Bloomington is described in the author's peculiar, half-intelligible style. He speaks of the country as "buttermilk land," "mash land," "rooty and snaggy land," with mudholes and quicksands and corduroys, "woven single and double twill," and there are fords with and without bottom." In the early spring, he says, the streams were brim full, "creeks turned to rivers, rivers to lakes, and lakes to bigger ones, and traveling by land becomes traveling by mud and water." As one proceeded he must tack to right and left, not to find the road, but to get out of it and find places where the mud was "thick enough to bear." The way was a "most ill-looking, dark-colored morass, enlivened by streams of purer mud (the roads) crossing at right angles," and these streams were "thick-set with stumps cut just low enough for wagons to straddle." Innumerable stubs of saplings, sharpened like spears by being shorn off obliquely, waited to impale the unlucky traveler who might be pitched out upon them, and the probability of such accident was considerable as the lumbering wagon plunged over a succession of ruts and roots, describing an "exhilarating seesaw with the most astonishing alternation of plunge, creak and splash." Ever and anon the brimming streams had to be cross-

*Mr. William Butler, a pioneer of Southern Indiana, has told the present writer of a trip he made to Indianapolis in the thirties. He stopped over night with a settler in Johnson county, and, inquiring as to the country east of them, was told that there was no other residence in that direction for thirty miles. "And what's more, there never will be," the informant added, his reason being that the submerged land was irreclaimable. It may be remarked, incidentally, that the swamp in question has long ago been converted into fine farms.

ed, sometimes by unsafe fording and sometimes by rude ferries. In the latter case the ferry-keeper was apt to be off at some place somewhere in his clearing, and the traveler had to "halloo ferry" till he could make himself heard.

This seemingly exaggerated account of the author might be confirmed by many references, but three or four brief anecdotes which the writer has gleaned at first hand from pioneers will suffice. The first of these, told by the late J. H. B. Nowland, of Indianapolis, is that once, when on his way by stage from Madison to Indianapolis, he was upset in the middle of a swollen stream and in the effort to save his life he lost his coat, which, worth thirty or forty dollars in the pocket, was swept away. Another is that of Mr. George W. Julian, who, when a child, traveled by wagon from the Wea plains on the Wabash to Wayne county. Crossing a stream, the water proved unexpectedly deep and the bank so precipitous that the horses lost their footing and were forced entirely under the flood by the descending wagon. Similar to this was an experience of Mr. William Shimer, of Irvington. When his family moved to Marion county they entered a stream by a descent so steep that a great feather-bed stowed in the front of the wagon rolled out and covered the driver. Mr. Nowland also relates in his book of reminiscences that a migratory wag once wrote these lines in the register-book of a Franklin tavern:

"The roads are impassable—hardly jackassable;
I think those that travel 'em should turn out and gravel 'em.

Such were the early thoroughfares of Indiana, and these, with the exception of an uncertain outlet by the larger streams, were the only means of travel and transportation for the greater part of the State with its growing population. That the character of the thoroughfares impeded growth, handicapped commerce and held in check the influences that are essential to development is very obvious to the student of that development within our borders. The difficulties that were overcome and the building up of the commonwealth in spite of such handicap is an evidence of the sturdiness of the stock that peopled the State.

GEO. S. COTTMAN.

[Next number, the National and Michigan Roads, and Road Improvements.]

OLD STAGE-COACH DAYS.

BY E. I. LEWIS.

AT Centerville, a few years ago, two small books were unearthed in a collection of old relics dating back to the halcyon days when Centerville was the center of a stage universe. Both were copies of "Indiana Delineated and Stage Guide for Travelers to the West." The first edition dated back to 1838, prior to the canal days. In the later edition—1847—the canal routes were added to those covered by stage. The old stage maps tell an interesting story of the decline of great traffic centers. Many of the most prominent, such as Merom, Napoleon, Montezuma, Fredonia, Strawtown, Michigantown, Northfield and Putnamville have almost completely been forgotten, while some of the most important centers of travel, such as Salem, Paoli, Jasper, Brookville, Liberty, Burlington and Laketon, have declined in transportation importance, while they have increased in population.

In the old Indiana stage days Philadelphia, instead of New York, was the center of the Eastern world, and the guide books gave information and advice to prospective tourists as to how they should proceed. In 1838 stage travelers were advised to go from Philadelphia to Harrisburg by railroad and canal; or to Harrisburg entirely by railroad; from Harrisburg by Juniata river to Hollidaysburg; by canal and the Allegany river to Pittsburg, and thence down the Ohio river. To travelers from New York and New England was recommended a route to Albany by water, and from Whitesboro to Buffalo by canal; from Buffalo to Cleveland by boat, thence to Portsmouth by the Ohio canal and down the river to Cincinnati or Indiana landings. If bound for northern Indiana they were advised to proceed to Toledo from Buffalo and thence by the newly-constructed canal to the Indiana line and enter via Ft. Wayne.

The time that would probably be consumed by these trips is not given. The all-stage routes, not advised when the traveler was heavily incumbered with baggage or household effects, carried the travelers across Ohio, and in the guide of 1847, is-

sued after the old National Road was opened through, it was the route favored. It and its connections ran from Washington, Hagerstown, Wheeling and Columbus, to Indianapolis, and from Terre Haute and Vandalia to St. Louis, and thence with connections to Gallatin, Ft. Leavenworth and the West, a distance of 1,112 miles.

Indianapolis was the State's stage center and the following advertisement of the old stage-coach days is interesting:

"STAGE LINE FROM INDIANAPOLIS TO CRAWFORDSVILLE AND DANVILLE, ILL., THREE TIMES A WEEK.

"Coaches leave Indianapolis every Monday, Wednesday and Friday morning, at 9 o'clock, and arrive at Danville next day, at 5 o'clock p. m. where travelers proceed without delay to Peoria, Ill., and Bloomington, Ia.,* in regular post coaches. At Crawfordsville this line intersects the line of coaches to Lafayette, Ia., where they arrive at 11 a. m., the next day. Connection can be made by the route for Chicago and Wisconsin points and for South Bend, northern Indiana points and Michigan. The distance by the direct line, from Indianapolis to Peoria, is 217 miles which is traveled in four days without any night traveling, in good coaches, with steady, moral and careful drivers and the best of horses."

The average cost for stage-coach travel, for the entire State, was a little less than 5 cents a mile. The rate of travel in good weather and favorable roads was seven to eight miles an hour. Most of the stages were operated on the plan indicated by the advertisement of the Indianapolis, Crawfordsville and Danville road, with stops for night, and an average of fifty-five to sixty miles a day. On the National Road, however, the stages did not stop for night, and would average 150 or more miles a day, in favorable weather. The ride from Evansville to Logansport took almost a week, and that from Cincinnati to White Pigeon, Mich., was but a day shorter, and took the traveler over the famous old line of Levi Coffin's underground railroad north to freedom for enslaved blacks.

These "fast" schedules, however, are for good weather, favorable season and solid roads. When these conditions did not prevail, and the "corduroy" was often afloat, travel by stage was not only uncertain, but all schedules were abandoned and the "stager" floundered around at a two- or three-mile gait.

*The early abbreviation for Indiana.

T. A. GOODWIN'S EXPERIENCE.

On a Wednesday noon, in 1837, Thomas Goodwin, the well-known veteran Methodist preacher, of Indianapolis, left Brookville for Greencastle to enter old Asbury University. It had been raining. The old four-horse stage lumbered along at a slow rate and reached Bulltown, seventeen miles from Brookville, that night at 7 o'clock. Goodwin put up for the night. The next morning he found a butcher's wagon, without springs, a seat or cover—the stage—waiting at the door for him, and in a rainstorm that had set the corduroy afloat, the start was made for Indianapolis. The fifty miles to Indianapolis was one great quagmire and at 8 o'clock that night, when the "stage" was still six miles from the capital, an axle gave way. The driver took Goodwin's trunk ahead of him on the "off" horse, and the contracting agent, with the mail in front of him and his passenger on behind, rode the "nigh" horse into Indianapolis, arriving at midnight and too late to catch the West stage. Goodwin had a day's lay-over, in which to inspect the new State House and the largest city he had ever seen.

At 10 o'clock that night he climbed on the nine-seated St. Louis limited stage and started for Putnamville. The road was macadamized as far as Eagle creek, but there the bogs were encountered again, and the stage came to a standstill. The eight male passengers were ordered out and sent to the nearby rail fence to get pries. They extricated the stage from the mudhole and were ready to get aboard, when the driver announced that they had better carry those rails on down the road, for they would need them again. Plainfield, fourteen miles out, was reached in time for breakfast, and Putnamville at 4 o'clock. Goodwin reached Greencastle at 9 o'clock the next Sunday morning, having covered 124 miles in a little less than four full days and traveling two nights, at a total cost of about \$8 or \$9 fare and boarding and lodging.

With the old stages have disappeared the old taverns, with their uniform charge of 25 cents for a bed or meal and a "fip" for a "dram." Though in these days the rate seems low, many good fortunes were made in these old taverns, whose proprietors bought pork at \$1.25 a hundred, eggs at 3 cents a dozen,

whisky at 25 cents a gallon, and all other supplies at correspondingly low rates.

EDITORIAL NOTES.—Calvin Fletcher, Jr., thus describes stage trip to Chicago from Indianapolis, in March, 1848. "took the first twenty-four hours to reach Kirklin, in Boone county, the next twenty-four to Logansport and the next thirty-six to reach South Bend. A rest then of twenty-four hours on account of high water ahead, then thirty-six hours to Chicago—five days of hard travel in mud or on corduroy, sand, the whole way. There was," Mr. Fletcher adds, "at that time of the year, no direct route from Indianapolis to Chicago. The Kankakee was impassable, except at the extreme headwaters, between South Bend and Laporte. Lemon's bridge over the Kankakee between Logansport and Chicago was inaccessible on account of water. In the summer passenger coaches went through, but when wet weather came the mud wagon was used to carry passengers and mail, and when the mud became too deep the mail was piled into crates, canvas-covered and hauled through."

As late as the sixties travel in some parts of the State was still of the old primitive character. During that decade and well into the next one, Walker H. Winslow ran a stage—the "Governor Morton," between Anderson and Marion. He was owner, driver and mail conductor for fourteen years. He had to keep eight head of horses for the stage. Four were required during the winter, and occasionally he had to change horses at Alexandria. The stage coach was of the style built before the civil war. It carried twelve people, but it was frequently crowded with sixteen or twenty. Winslow received \$300 a year from the government for carrying the mail between Anderson and Marion. On the rear end of the coach was the "baggage booth," where trunks were stored. The mail pouches were carried under the driver's seat. There were not many mail pouches in those days, and the stage generally had to stand at the small towns along the way and wait till the postmaster opened the mail pouch and "made up" the out-going mail. Winslow also filled the exciting role of express-carrier, and one day he carried \$30,000. Many times he had to be "diplomatic." Once he had

a large sum of money in gold. It was in two small shot sacks. Stopping at Alexandria for dinner, Winslow says he took off his overshoes while on the stage and slipped a sack of gold into each shoe. He then carried his overshoes into the dining-room and apologized for his absent-mindedness, but he had the overshoes where he could touch them with his feet, and no one at the table knew they were eating over a fortune.

FIRST VINCENNES AND INDIANAPOLIS ROAD.

BY HENRY BAKER.

THESE facts concerning the first wagon road connecting Vincennes with Indianapolis were secured by the writer many years ago from Martin Wines, one of the early settlers of Greene county. The road, or trail, as it was long called, was established in the fall of 1822. An unusual fact connected with it was that it was marked out by dragging a log, or brush, as different reports have it, with an ox team over the entire distance of 120 miles, through the woods, prairies and marshes. The thick, high grass on the prairies and the wild pea vines in the woods so obstructed progress that the dragging of this log or brush was considered the best and cheapest way to mark the route, as mowing would have been too slow. An engineer or surveyor was employed by the State to keep the course, as many variations had to be made from a straight line to suit the lay of the land and the best crossings of the many streams and marshes. The route was directly through the site of Linton, Greene county, and near the home of Martin Wines. Latta's creek marsh, named for John Latta, one of the early settlers, was exactly in the line of the survey, and as Mr. Wines was familiar with the lay of the country he was asked to mark out the best ground to cross the marsh. The way by which he piloted the company became the roadway, and was so used until a few years ago. Along the trail in the woods trees were blazed, and in the prairies tall poles reaching above the high grass were set to guide the travelers.*

*Mr. Baker probably means that these guides were used before the road was marked out.—*Editor*.

A RECOLLECTION OF DENNIS PENNINGTON.

BY JOHN W. RAY.

DENNIS PENNINGTON, a man almost wholly forgotten the present day, and about whom little or no information can be gleaned in our published histories and biographies, was one of the remarkable men of our State in its formative period. So far as long-continued public service goes, perhaps no man in any period has been more intimately identified with the making of the State. No other man, I believe, in the whole history of the commonwealth, has so frequently represented his constituents in the councils of the State. In this respect his career was certainly notable. As early as 1810 his name appears as speaker in the territorial legislature. He was a delegate from Harrison county to the constitutional convention of 1816, and at such he had an influence in the very beginnings of our legal framework. With the convening of our first legislature he took his seat in the Senate, and during sessions 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29 he was a member of that body. During sessions 7, 8, 13, 14, and 30 he was in the House. This makes thirteen years as a Senator and five as a Representative, or eighteen all told, as a legislator during the thirty years of his political activity. From sessions 1 to 4, 7 to 11, 15 to 17 and 27 to 30 (inclusive) his services were unbroken—a fact, surely, which must argue a phenomenal popularity and standing with his constituents.

It should be noted that Dennis Pennington represented a type of man that was held in esteem by our pioneer fathers, and a type that cut something of a figure among our early public men. He was uneducated, so far as the schools went, but educated by his contact with life and men. Above all, he possessed the virtues of honesty and a robust common sense—what the rank and file appreciate and designate as “horse sense”—and, something which, if coupled with honesty of purpose, rarely fails to go right and counts for more than mere learning. He was, moreover, outside of his public usefulness, a man of practical, mechanical ability, and the old State House at Corydon, as

well as the famous old inn a mile out of town, built by him, still stand as monuments to his skill. Like the body of those who shaped the beginnings of the State, he was a Christian, being a member, I believe (though of this I am not sure) of the Baptist church.

My personal recollection of Dennis Pennington dates back to the middle thirties. Ever since the seat of government was removed to Indianapolis, in 1825, he had been a boarder at the house of my grandmother, Elizabeth Nowland, one of the best-known public houses in the town, and his place in our family had come to be much like that of a relative—indeed, he was familiarly known to all the family as “Uncle Dennis.” My father and mother moved to Jeffersonville in 1836, and Uncle Dennis was a frequent visitor at our home there. I remember him as a genial, kindly old man, beloved by everybody, and the kind of one to win the heart of a boy. He was somewhat large and heavy, with a big, smooth, smiling face, a cordial, hearty hand-grasp, and of a jocular nature. I recall that when he came he used always to greet my mother with upraised forefinger shaken in playful reproof, and with the words: “Sallie, Sallie, you bad girl, to make me drunk!” This was reminiscent of earlier days, and thereby hung a story. When mother was a young woman and Uncle Dennis a boarder with my grandmother in Indianapolis, he came in one day and found the daughter of the house taking a nap on the lounge in the sitting-room. Securing a corn dodger, some ham, and generous et ceteras on a platter, he left them on a chair beside the sleeper. My mother accepted the little joke as a challenge, and with a vim characteristic of her, planned retaliation. Uncle Dennis was inordinately fond of mince pie, and, while a strong temperance advocate, was not averse to a tang of brandy in his favorite dessert. The day after the dodger and ham offering a great fat pie of extra tempting quality sat smoking hot beside the Pennington plate, intended for his sole consumption. He consumed it, leaving not a crumb behind. When the legislature met at 2 p. m., Pennington of Harrison was not in his seat. At 3 the town was alarmed by the rumor that Uncle Dennis had been poisoned. The legislature adjourned in a panic and came down to the Nowland house to learn about it; the citizens gathered about the place in

awe, and Drs. Dunlap and Sanders came to investigate, only to be puzzled. Then Sallie, the joker, confessed: "Dennis had merely taken a good stiff glass of cognac brought along with his mince pie."

I think of Dennis Pennington as a grand old man, who long and honest and valuable service to the young commonwealth. That he and what he did have passed so completely away from the knowledge of men is regrettable, and as one of the few survivors who remember him I take pleasure in recalling him, even briefly, to the present generation.

[NOTE.—The above recollections were submitted to us shortly before Mr. Ray's death, a few months since.—*Editor.*]

A DENNIS PENNINGTON LETTER.

[In connection with the foregoing article this letter from Dennis Pennington to Colonel John Paul, of Madison, will contribute somewhat to our scant information about the man. For one thing, Mr. Ray's reference to his lack of schooling is here illustrated. There are two points of particular interest in this letter. One is the evidence that in 1815 there was a fight for the removal of the capital from Corydon to Salem, and that Madison also seems to have harbored an aspiration in this direction—facts that have been lost to history. The other is that there was also an agitation for the removal of the Jefferson county seat of justice from Madison to some more central point. In the somewhat fragmentary historical material relating to Jefferson county there is, we believe, no reference to this movement. The letter, now in our possession, was found in Jefferson county not long since.—*Editor.*]

Corydon November 3rd 1815

Dear Sir.

I have thought it not criminal to drop you a few lines by mail on public affairs as I have had it in contemplation for some time and still neglected it from time to time and at last have made the venture. I discovered some time ago in the *Western Eagle* that the party spirit in your County to a very high degree respecting the removal of the seat of Justice of your County to the center of the same as though it had never been fixed by the unanimous request of the citizens of the County at its first erection in to a County. It is astonishing to see what party spirit will do; they have forgotten the damage those must

sustain that have propity in the Town of Madison. thay would be willing I suppose that Madison should sink so thay could rise on the ruens thereof. But I can Assure you I am not fond of contenanceing such things that has been so unanimously Done by the people as Madison was, if it had been Done Contrary to the wishes of the majority of the people it would be another thing. But that is not the ceaase, and as such I certainly must protest against it. I also feel myself under some obligation to Madison in as much as your last representative have been true to the Interest of this place in As much as when the subject of the removeal of the sete of Government came under consideration He was opposed to it, Except he thought there was a posibility of geting it to his own County and when he found there were no chance he voted against its removeal, for my own parte as tuching the removeal of the seat of Government I think it noncense at this time while under A territorial government for the time is not far when we will be vested with power by General Government to call a convention to fraim a constitution of our own and that convention undoubtedly will have it in their power to say under certain restrictions where it shall be, though I must confess that I should Be opposed to it at this time, as we would certainly have to pay a parte of the national Debt, and paying the officers of Government would bare hard on us, as our taxes is very high at this time, and no money in the tresury I am told that thay are at Salem Determed to take it up on wheles as soon as the Legislature meets and bare it off. But I trust our legislature will be composed of such men as will wisely consider the subject and when thay Do remove it; it will Be for the good of the community at large and not for a few individuals. Whenever the situation will admitt of its going near the center and Do Justice to the community let it be done, but Salem never shall enjoy it if I can help it, I have no notion of humouring them in that way thay are Children and as such I will treat them I have understood that Perry is taken by force and Carried to Kentucky if this be the case it is unsufferrable and ought not to be countenenced among heathens much more By people of Christianity it ought to be represented to the Governor and he make a demand of the Governor of Kentucky

they ought to be made an example of for their conduct. were afread to let him have a fair trial in this country

let us be on our gard when our convention men is (that they may be men opposed to slavery, I ad no more a ent. I am in the highest consideration your friend and Servent

DENNIS PENNING

Colo. John Paul.

SOME COMMENTS ON TIPTON'S JOURNAL.

BY CAPT. JOHN T. CAMPBELL.

I HAVE read with particular interest the Journal of John Tipton, published in your last issue, describing the route taken by Gen. W. H. Harrison in his Tippecanoe campaign. I am pretty well acquainted with the country all through Parke county, and from Clinton to Newport, in Vermilion county, and am very familiar with the topography. I have surveyed every river section in Parke county. I have tried to keep track of Tipton in Parke and Vermilion counties, but I can not. He jumps hither and yonder; the only thing that follows in successive order is his dates. But he was not employed to be a historian of the campaign, and as a volunteer he did remarkably well, and it is interesting as well as disappointing to read his Journal.

Friday, Oct. 4th—"Crosst a fine creek." This would be Clear creek. "Came to another and camped." This would be Gundy's Run or Clear creek. Saturday, 5th—"Crosst a fine large creek." I can't imagine what he saw. "All the forepart of this day we had a ridge on our right and good land and good springs on our left." This is correct. He says he went with the boat to Vermilion river to get coal. That is he went to land as a flank guard for the boat, I presume. (Why was coal wanted at that time when wood was so plenty?) "In the evening we marched hard; crosst four creeks." These are good-size branches. "We came up with our spies at a large creek. We crosst the Purchase line." This would be correct. The "Purchase" or Indian boundary, or "Ten O'clock" line, as it was called by the settlers, is a half-mile south of Big Ractoon creek.

where Harrison crossed it. He says: "We traveled 30 miles N. N. West." If he meant after leaving camp Saturday morning he traveled only seventeen miles. "Sunday, 6th. We moved early one mile to the river at coal bank." I can't locate this bank at all. I was born about two miles north of Raccoon creek, where he camped with his spies, and have surveyed in every section for miles about this coal bank. "The coal bank is on the east side of Wabash." There are coal out-crops on the west side that are now being worked. "We went through a small prairie, crosst the river to the west side." The prairie is correct. Tradition says that Harrison's army crossed to west side at a ford about a mile and a half above Montezuma. A cat can wade it now in a long dry time. Local tradition also says that the army crossed Raccoon creek and camped on the high ground on north side. Armiesburg, a village, and for a short time the county seat, was laid out about a half a mile from the camp, and so named in honor of the camp. They could not have crossed on the range line between 8 and 9, where the road now crosses by a bridge, for the south side was almost a precipice forty feet high. The army moved up a dry ravine which made an easy grade from the creek northward, and camped at its head. There are six graves on the west slope of this ravine, near the summit, which can yet be distinguished, said to be those of men from Harrison's army. I have seen them. After crossing to the west side of the river above Montezuma his account is bewildering. I can't locate any of the objects he refers to. Then on Monday, the 7th of October we find him back with the main body south of Raccoon creek, in Parke county. But on Sunday, the 6th, he crossed Little Vermilion creek, then took a south course. He says the hills were on his right, which would be true if he stayed west of the Wabash and went south. Says the hills and river came close together, which would also be true on the west side. After crossing Little Vermilion and taking a south course (Sunday, the 6th), he "came to a small creek." This must have been the same Little Vermilion, and he was lost or bewildered. After going through some prairie and some fine timber the river and hills came together, as before stated, which would be true, but the coal bank fourteen miles below the Vermilion is wrong by ten miles as to distance on the

west side. He says, "We crosst the Wabash half a mile the mouth of the Vermillion river." This throws everything into a tangle. Some of that whisky which was so often to the men affected his geography. If he crossed the Wabash half-mile above the mouth of Vermilion, the little creek he reached and let their horses graze, would correspond to Wabash creek; but then the hills would be on his left. In three and a half miles on the east side he would come to Sugar creek, a larger stream than Big Raccoon, of which he makes no mention, and the hills and river do not come together on the east side till Montezuma is reached, and then only the second-bottom about thirty-five feet above low water. On Monday, the 7th of October, "We mooved earley three miles and crossed Big Raccoon creek to the Purchase line." If he came south on the west side of the Wabash river from north of Vermilion, this would be the place his camp for Sunday night on the south side of and Sugar creek; but he would surely have mentioned Sugar creek if he had seen and crossed it. "Thence 15 miles to the garrison," he continues. If he meant Fort Harrison, it is nearly thirty miles, but he did not measure distances, and as a guess was not bad.

Tipton was in a strange country, with other duties to perform and had to depend often on others for the names of localities. There must have been a considerable sprinkling of settlers settled along their route, as these streams all had names before the army went there. On the west bank of the Wabash, about a mile above the mouth of Sugar creek, a bushel or so of bullets have been found, nearly all of them battered, and new finds are occurring all the time. I found one three years ago, while surveying for a levee. Tradition says Harrison had a battle there when on his way to Tippecanoe, but John Collett, ex-State geologist, who was born a few miles above, said there was no record of such a battle. [An event of this kind would certainly have been mentioned by Tipton.—*Editor.*]

I was Professor Collett's chief assistant in 1879, and recall that in the report of the Bureau of Statistics and Geology of that year historic evidence was adduced to the effect that Harrison's Kentucky soldiers took the seed of the now famous Kentucky blue-grass from a point three miles north of Clinton.

the east bank of the Wabash river, called in boating times "Blue Grass Landing." Tom Dowling, a citizen of Terre Haute, and Henry Clay once had considerable correspondence as to the origin of the Kentucky blue-grass, and they agreed that it was found by Harrison's men when they rode out to the river as that point to watch for the pirogues to come up the river with the corn for the horses. The horses ate the grass while waiting, and when the corn arrived they would not eat it. On their way back home the men stopped at that place and gathered what seed they could from the stems still standing. Tipton makes no mention of this matter at all.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—It seems to us that Tipton's movements from Friday, October 4, to Sunday, October 6, can be traced from the Journal more easily than Captain Campbell's comments indicate. From the text it seems tolerably clear that, leaving the main body at work in the erection of Fort Harrison, he went with the guard for the coal boat, which marched up the east side of the Wabash to a point one-half mile below the mouth of Vermilion river, where they found the coal bank. After the loading of the boat they went one mile further up (probably because of better fording there), and crossed to the west side of the Wabash. Returning southward they crossed the Vermilion, and stopped to graze their horses at a small stream which might have been the one emptying into the Wabash some two miles south of the Vermilion. They continued to travel on the west side of the river, but crossed to the east side before coming to Raccoon creek, or, as Tipton indicates later, at the ford where the army crossed to the west side on the 31st; thence on to Fort Harrison, where they arrived Monday, the 7th. That his estimation of distances is sometimes widely in error is proven when he gives the miles between specified points—for example, from the mouth of the Vermilion to Raccoon creek and the "Purchase line." Captain Campbell seems to have confused Tipton's crossing of the Wabash on this trip with the crossing of the army "above Montezuma," some three weeks later. In this return trip southward of the boat guard, nothing is said about crossing the "little" Vermilion. There are, undoubtedly, some confusions in Tipton's narrative, but a close analysis shows it, we believe, to be a coherent and accurate document.

THE LAST OF THE MIAMIS.

From The Indianapolis Journal, January 7, 1900.

Some five miles east of Peru, within rifle-shot of the Wabash, stands the home of Gabriel Godfroy, the most notable and interesting Indian in Indiana to-day. Godfroy, though not a full Indian as to blood, is fully an Indian in character, and is of genuine Miami lineage, his father, Francis Godfroy, being the last war-chief of that once powerful tribe, that not only made their home in the Wabash valley, but claimed sovereignty over all of Indiana.

Gabriel Godfroy, picturesque in appearance, is a powerfully built man, in his sixties, with a massive, strong face, made leonine by a heavy growth of yellowish-white hair which falls to the shoulders or is worn in a knot behind. His nature is utterly transparent, and one who converses with him and takes note shrewdly may get a key to the Indian question and guess why the fates have dealt hardly with him and his people in their intercourse with the whites. After his more than three-score years spent cheek by jowl with the invaders of his heritage, the modification is but superficial; their ways are not his ways, and his conformity to them is, at best, but awkward and unnatural. For example, the Indian's natural domicile is a wigwam, or something akin, and Godfroy and his family are strikingly out of place in the great, barren, many-roomed house where they find shelter. The rules of living, the orderly arrangement, the convenience and ornamentation which make a house a home in any sense of the word, are here missing entirely. The place is simply a refuge from outdoors, when outdoors proves unpleasant.

Again, the Indian's natural activity is to tread the wild places with moccasined foot, the preying instinct hot in his blood; and the spectacle of him in cowhide brogans caring in his slipshod way for plow, horses and cattle is so palpably forced and incongruous as to be grotesque. We read encouraging reports here and there of the civilized Indian taking to husbandry, and Godfroy himself has been cited as a thrifty, prosperous citizen. The statements are not purposely false, but they are a decided per-

version of the real fact. Thrift, providence, anything industrial application and business sagacity is utterly foreign to the Indian's character, and the fact that he may be seen well-to-do at any given time signifies little. A better illustration of this could not be found than the case of Godfroy.

more than a half-century ago, the Miamis sold to the United States government the last great tract of land which they as a tribe, there were reserved to Francis Godfroy many hundreds of acres of the finest Wabash bottom. To part of this main the son Gabriel succeeded, and at one time owned more than 300 acres of that rich tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Wabash and the Mississinewa. Here he lived the open-handed style of a manorial lord, his house the stopping place of all his fellow-Indians, who looked to him as their friend and superior, and for whose debts he was surety. All this is over now. Godfroy has left of his father's ample reserves only forty-eight acres, part of them hilly and sterile. As one goes further among the Indians of this locality he finds the same story repeated, and there is revealed the pathetic spectacle of these one-time lords of the soil now in a class with our poorest, least successful white farmers, floundering along in a helpless, inefficient sort of way, and pushed to the wall by the conditions of civilized life. One of the most notable cases is that of William Pecongga, whose former home stood on the Me-shin-go-me-sia reserve, in the southern part of Wabash county. Pecongga is the grandson of old Chief Me-shin-go-me-sia, to whom and his band was reserved ten sections or ten square miles of land. In an evil hour they had this common property divided and apportioned among the several members of the band. Few of them now have anything left, and Pecongga, the chief heir, recently left his last strip of land, and is living with a friend.

The explanation is two-fold. In the first place the Indian, along with his lack of foresight, has but little sense of values. What he wants he will have at any cost, if it lies within his means, and he will give his promise to pay or a mortgage with very little thought as to result. Hence, assailed by a multiplicity of wants that he never knew in his savage condition, and without the check of prudence, his possessions must, in the nature of things, slip away from him.

Again, the Indian is utterly unqualified to take care of himself in the midst of our civilization, with its unscrupulous measuring of wits. There is no gainsaying that a very dominant trait with the white man is avarice; there is very little mercy for the unsophisticated, and this avarice preying off the Indian makes an ancient tale of wrong, the half of which has never been told. From the early days of the traders they have paid exorbitantly for every commodity they bought, and have been encouraged to revel in credit wherever their lands or annuities would secure their debts. To the present day the whites sustain this attitude toward them, and sharks operating from the shady side of the law have left them all but penniless. Litigation of one sort or another has been pending for years in the courts at Marion, and one does not have to inquire far to hear of lawyers who have grown richer as the Indians have grown poorer. Among the latter exists the feeling generally that they have been over-reached in every way; that they have no chance against the white man. Even history, they say, is but the white man's perversion of truth, and the legends preserved among them, as I got them from Godfroy, breathe bitterly of wrongs done them in the early wars—wrongs that have never been chronicled.

Along the beautiful Mississinewa, from its union with the Wabash to the Misissinewa battle-ground, linger the sorry remnants of a tribe that once ranked among the noblest of the North American savages. As one makes his way up this romantic stream, so long beloved of the red men, he finds them here and there, often with a skin more or less Caucasian, but always with the unmistakable, fine, dark Indian eye, which has in it something of the eagle. One notable thing is the persistence of the Indian instincts, despite this liberal admixture of white man's blood. Gabriel Godfroy's boys are as aboriginal in their proclivities as the Miami striplings of a century ago. They are skilled in the use of the bow, and, perched in some tree-top overhanging the river, kill many a fish with their deadly arrows. The mellifluous Miami language is not allowed to die out, nor the Indian custom of naming children for some natural object or quality, and not the least interesting of my recollection of my

visit to Godfroy's is that of him and sundry of his young going through their weird, curious dances for my delectation.

One with the disposition, time and patience might make an interesting study in this region of the Indian as he is after contact with the civilized life, and pick up much lore cherished by them which reveals the nature of these people. No stream in our State is pleasanter to loiter along than this one where such a student would go to seek his material. No stream so stimulates the imagination with romantic associations, for it was a favorite abiding place with the Miami, and up and down its beautiful, winding, narrow valley stood his picturesque wigwam. Here slumbers forgotten the dust of many a chief and warrior once famous among his people. Here lived and now rests Frances Slocum, who, stolen from her Pennsylvania home when a child, spent a long life among her captors, so content with their customs that, when discovered and identified in her old age by her own people, she could not be prevailed upon to go to them.

Here, also, overlooking a beautiful bend and stretch of the river, about a mile from the little town of Jalapa, Pleasant township, Grant county, is one of the most famous Indiana battle-grounds in the State, known as the Mississinewa. It is not a stretch of tilled fields, unmarked in any way, and only known vaguely to the surrounding countryside as the spot where some sort of a battle once took place. It merits more explicit celebrity, for here, in the early dawn of December 18, 1812, occurred a fierce and bloody conflict, akin to that of Tippecanoe, between about six hundred whites under Lieutenant-Colonel John B. Campbell, and an uncertain number of Miami and Munsee Indians. About all the records that exist of the fight are based on Colonel Campbell's official report, which gives the victory to the whites, but the Miami tradition, as told by Godfroy, varies from the received account, and glows with indignation at the violence previously committed on a Munsee village, which led the Miami to side with the Munsees and make the early morning attack.

G. S. C.

NOTE.—Godfroy still lives at his old home but is, we are told, no longer a land-owner. For an interesting tradition related by him see Vol. I, No. 1, p. 19, of this magazine.—*Editor.*

NEWSPAPER INDEX.

INDIANA JOURNAL—THIRD INSTALMENT.

1834—

- Indianapolis legislature.—Jan. 8.
- David Crockett (letter).—Jan. 25.
- Railroad, Indianapolis and Lawrenceburgh, movement toward.
—Feb. 22.
- Allisonville, sale of lots (ad.).—Feb. 22.
- Barber, first negro (ad.).—Feb. 22.
- Public land sales.—March 15.
- New Bethel, sale of lots.—March 15.
- Germantown, on Fall creek.—March 15.
- Railroad meeting.—March 29.
- Indianapolis Library (ad.).—April 5.
- Julia A. Dumont (story).—April 5, May 24.
- Gambling, meeting to suppress.—June 1.
- Railroad, Indianapolis and Lafayette.—June 14.
- Canal Improvement.—June 14.
- Ginseng (ad.).—June 28.
- Noah Noble, circular to the public.—July 19.
- Railroad celebration at Shelbyville.—July 19.
- Whitewater canal proposed.—Aug. 16.
- State House, progress of.—Oct. 3.
- Indianapolis, growth of.—Oct. 10.
- Canals, etc. (communication).—Sept. 12.
- Mails, complaints of.—Dec. 5.
- Railroads.—Dec. 30.

1835—

- Ten-mile strip adjoining Michigan.—Jan. 13.
- "Track roads."—Jan. 13.
- Whitewater survey (two communications).—Jan. 16.
- Indianapolis Athenæum.—Feb. 3.
- Davy Crockett and the presidency.—Feb. 20.
- Town library.—April 24.
- Railroad surveys.—May 15.
- Salem seminary.—May 15.

Athenæum.—April 24, May 22.
Internal improvement.—June 12.
Harrison, invitation to.—June 19.
Agricultural Society, Marion County, formed.—July 3.
Railroad at Shelbyville.—July 17.
Irish canal fights.—July 31.
Canal celebration.—July 31.
Gambling, to check.—Aug. 16.
Canals and railroads.—Aug. 14.
Railroad surveys.—Aug. 21.
County fair, first (ad. and ed.)—Sept. 11.
About Indiana.—Sept. 25.
County fair.—Oct. 9 and 16.
Internal improvement.—Oct. 16.
Railroad survey.—Oct. 16.
Internal improvements.—Oct. 23.
Tippecanoe battle, celebration of.—Nov. 3 and Dec. 8.
Internal improvement.—Nov. 27.

1836—

Canals, central and others.—Jan. 8.
Internal improvement bill, passage of.—Jan. 19.
Colonization society (long address).—Feb. 27.
Indianapolis, law incorporating.—March 19.
Indianapolis, peace and safety meeting.—March 26.
"Battle of Tippecanoe," poem by Wm. Wallace.—March 26.
Tipton, John, speech on Cumberland road bill.—April 23.
Temperance society.—April 30.
Alexandria, William Conner a proprietor of (ad. of sale).—
May 14.
Internal improvement bill, great celebration at Evansville.—
May 21.
Davy Crockett, sketch of.—May 28.
Cumberland road.—May 28.
Ratliff Boone.—June 4.
Railroad meeting at Indianapolis.—June 18.
Internal improvement.—June 25.
Agricultural society.—July 9.
Public works (canals) ad. for.—July 16.
Horse racing, an ordinance against in Indianapolis.—July 16.

Internal improvement, series of papers beginning.—July 22.
 Sales of lots in various towns (ads.)—Aug. 27.
 Yorktown and old Indian town (ad.)—Sept. 3.
 Port Royal.—Sept 10.
 Cumberland road, address from an Indianapolis committee.—
 Sept. 17.
 Internal improvement, discussion of.—Sept. 24.
 Davy Crockett, journal of.—Oct. 8.
 J. B. Dillon, letter from.—Oct. 8.
 Agricultural fair, addresses before by Calvin Fletcher.—
 Oct. 22.
 Specimen of invective: an open letter "to the Lying Hire-
 ling Scoundrels who do the dirty work as Editors of the
 Democrat."—Nov. 3.

1837—

Colonization society.—Feb. 11.
 Anti-internal improvement convention.—April 22.
 Internal improvement (discussion).—May 6 and May 18.
 Editorial convention.—June 3.
 Lorenzo Dow (story of).—July 1.
 Internal improvement fund.—July 1.
 Indianapolis, bad streets of.—July 1.
 Asbury University, cornerstone of.—July 1.
 Story of traveller who planned to make stops at towns on his
 map, and his quandaries. A stick of hewn timber and a
 blazed tree constituted "Vienna."—July 1.
 Indianapolis library (ad. to return books).—July 1.
 Ginseng.—July 1.
 Cooking stoves (ad.)—July 1.
 Internal improvement funds.—July 8.
 Lands ceded by Indians.—July 8.
 Irish riot on Madison railroad (1700 laborers).—Sept. 9.
 Cumberland Road.—Sept. 9.
 James B. Ray (letter).—Sept. 30.
 Mt. Pleasant, Marion county (lot sale).—Oct. 14.
 Premiums awarded at county fair.—Oct. 28.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher.*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND ITS WORK.

The Indiana Historical Society is not a widely advertised institution. Many know in a vague way that such a society exists; the majority of these think of it as in a condition of stagnation and yellow desuetude; a few know what it really is doing and has done.

This society has the prestige that comes with age. It has existed now for more than seventy-five years, and in the course of that time there have been identified with it, particularly in earlier years, a goodly proportion of the men whose names are honored in the history of the State.*

Organized for the purpose of disseminating historical information as well as for the preservation of historical material, it has from time to time, had read before it original papers of distinct historical value. Of late years this custom has practically been discontinued and the society's work has been chiefly confined to its publications. Up to date it has issued three volumes of these publications which in character and value compare favorably with those of the leading societies in the same field. The selecting, the editing, and the papers contributed show at once the supervision of experts and thoroughgoing work at the hands of not a few writers in the State who, turning aside for a moment from their professional vocations, have demonstrated their capability in this line. To be represented for future time in these collections is a distinction that might be gratifying to any one. The great handicap to this work is the lack of funds. By way of permanent endowment it has the interest from \$3,000,

*For example, the officers in 1842 were: President, Samuel Merrill; Vice-Presidents, Jeremiah Sullivan, Charles Dewey and Isaac Blackford; Corresponding Secretary, John Law; Recording Secretary, William Sheets; Treasurer, Charles W. Cady; Executive Committee, Henry P. Coburn, James M. Ray, Henry Ward Beecher, Geo. H. Dunn and Douglass Maguire. A more notable list representing the various parts of the State could hardly have been selected.

\$2,500 of which, to be so used, was donated by the late William H. English; but there is at present little return from membership fees. From time to time modest appeals have been made to the legislature for aid in a work which a few individuals are carrying on gratuitously for the good of the State, but so far, apparently, the Indiana legislature has never been able to see that the history of the State has any value, or that a historical society is worthy of any notice.

Thus much for the actual accomplishments of the society. On the other hand, in the course of its three-score and sixteen years there have been long lapses, sometimes extending over years, during which it seemed to have ceased utterly. The semi-annual public meetings and the presentations of papers originally contemplated in the constitution has dwindled down to one brief business meeting each year which few hear of and fewer attend.

Now, there is a decided sentiment with at least a few that the State Historical Society ought to be doing something in addition to publishing two or three pamphlets a year, and its possibilities are becoming more and more apparent. In various directions it can be seen that the historic interest in Indiana is surely though slowly growing. The old settlers' meeting (though this is, perhaps, the crudest and least reliable manifestation of this interest) has become a fixture throughout the State; the several patriotic societies, such as the D. A. R., the D. R., and others of similar character, based as they are upon the past, are turning attention that way; in the history departments of our colleges a local interest is being evinced, and in the matter of local societies there seems to be a growing activity, which within the last year or so has issued in the formation of several new organizations. What is needed is that these various movements shall work together, borrowing stimulus from each other. The local history societies in particular work in such a narrow field and are so unrelated to the larger movement that they are, very often, of a sporadical nature, and of those that are organized only a small proportion continue to thrive. A larger relation—an atmosphere that shall feed them is possible, and the State society, by virtue of its standing as a State organization, is in a position to take the initiative and create between itself and the

minor organizations ties that shall bind all together on a common working basis. Just how this might be done would be a matter for careful consideration, but some hints may be borrowed from what is being done elsewhere, particularly in Wisconsin. Working from these hints we venture here to present a tentative plan, the intent of which is to stimulate thought in this direction and to call forth an expression of views from others. We would be pleased to have representatives of some of the local societies form a symposium on this subject.

1. Local Societies. A correspondence with the secretary of each local historical society inviting to auxiliary membership. Conditions of membership, an annual fee of one dollar with privilege of one voting delegate at meetings; an annual report from the local secretary setting forth the work of his society for the past year, and transmitting of copies of all programs and other printed matter, the same to be filed away by the State society. In return, the State society to publish an annual bulletin exhibiting the various reports; to transmit copies of these bulletins to local societies, and also copies of all its future publications, including its historical pamphlets.

2. Patriotic Societies. An invitation to the various patriotic societies throughout the State to exchange publications with the State Historical Society, and extending to said societies the courtesy of honorary membership.

3. Libraries. Circular letters to all the public libraries in the State requesting brief account of what has been done by them (if anything) toward promoting the interest in local history, and setting forth the importance of collecting and preserving all local pamphlets and of indexing the current history in local newspaper files.

4. Membership. A circular letter advertising the society and its objects, and inviting into its membership individuals whose interest in these objects is known.

It should be repeated that these suggestions are thrown out simply in lieu of better. The argument we wish to make is that there is a field of possibilities at present unworked, and which is proper to the State society. With a desire on its part to enter upon it, practical and effective ways and means would not be difficult to devise.

A LINCOLN MEMORIAL TABLET.

The Indianapolis Commercial Club some months since stimulated a local history interest among the more advanced pupils of the public schools by inviting essays on this subject, "What historic spot in Indianapolis should be commemorated with a tablet, and why?" Something over 200 essays were submitted, and perhaps a half-dozen places were discussed as eligible to the honor in question, but by far the greatest number were for the spot made memorable by a brief speech of Abraham Lincoln's in February of 1861, when on his way to Washington to be inaugurated as President. This speech was made from the balcony of the old Bates House, on the site now occupied by the Claypool Hotel. In deference to this preference as thus expressed by the young people, the Commercial Club determined to mark this place, and that the pupils of the schools might be still further identified with the movement, competitive designs for a bronze tablet were asked for from students in the art departments of the two high schools of the city. Nineteen designs were submitted, and from among these a Commercial Club committee, aided by an advisory committee of artists, selected one executed by Miss Marie H. Stewart, of Irvington. This design, made into a handsome bronze by Rudolph Schwarz, a sculptor of the city, was set in the wall of the Claypool Hotel on Washington street beneath the place where the speech was made.* The tablet, six feet long by three wide, presents a profile head of Lincoln, the space on the left side being occupied by a log cabin and that on the right by the nation's capitol, symbolic of the two extremes of his life. Underneath is inscribed in bold gothic lettering:

"Here, February 11, 1861, Abraham Lincoln, on his way to Washington to assume the Presidency, in an address said: 'I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind that not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with office-seekers, but with you is the question: Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?'"

On Lincoln's birthday, just forty-six years and one day after

*There is a difference of opinion as to which balcony of the Bates House Lincoln spoke from, some contending that it was one on the Illinois street side.

the speech was made, the tablet was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies and in the presence of a large crowd, the chief feature of the occasion being an address by Governor J. The event was further signalized by a public meeting at Linson Hall in the evening.

HISTORIC SPOTS IN INDIANAPOLIS.

The sentiment in favor of marking historic spots is growing in our midst, and in view of possible future accomplishments in this direction in Indianapolis we would suggest that the city within the city at least two points invested with an historical interest far more essentially related to Indianapolis than the famous Lincoln speech. One of these is the spot on South street between Delaware and Pennsylvania, where stood the old Madison & Indianapolis railroad depot. The arrival here of the railway train marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Indianapolis. It was the introduction into the history of the town of a factor which preeminently determined its future, which has made it a metropolis. To commemorate this beginning of the city's greatness is to recognize the significance and bearing of an historical event.

The other spot is the piece of vacant ground overlooking the White river between the Washington street bridge and the site of the old bridge. Here stood the cabin of John McCormick, the real founder of the settlement that became the capital of the State, and around this spot Indianapolis had its beginning. There is indeed a dispute as to whether John McCormick or George Pogue were the first actual settlers here, but there is no dispute as to the relations of the two to the settlement. Pogue, who squatted a mile or so farther east, was isolated and detached; nobody followed him, and he was not an influence in the further peopling of the locality. McCormick, on the other hand, was followed by his brothers, James and Samuel, and with these, or close after them, came those who made the nucleus of a town, which was one of the factors that determined the selection of the site for the capital. Further historic interest attaches to this neighborhood. The first comers to the spot were led hither by Indian trails, a half-dozen of which converged at the mouth

of Fall creek, by reason of a sandbar across the river there. There is a story to the effect that on one occasion Zachary Taylor, on his way to the Wabash with some three hundred troops, came by way of this ford; that, by coincidence, he found there a large force of Delaware Indians camped at the place and in conference with the famous Tecumseh; that that night Taylor encamped across the creek from the Indians, and that the latter, stirred to passion by a speech of Tecumseh's, threatened trouble that was only averted by the influence of William Conner, a trader among the Delawares, and by Anderson, their principal chief:

In brief, the piece of ground referred to, which is now little more than a waste, might appropriately be converted into a little park and marked by the erection on the site of the McCormick home a duplicate of that first cabin, typical of the early Hoosier homes.

REVOLUTIONARY GRAVES.

The following statements as to Revolutionary graves in the State are sent us by Mrs. Elinor Campbell, of Jeffersonville.

Jacob Mikesell, from Kentucky, lies in a private burial ground near Bethlehem, Clark county. Some place between New Washington and Bethlehem is buried John Brinton, whose name appears in the list of Revolutionary pensioners published in 1835, and in a list of coffins made by Robert Tilford at New Washington, March 22, 1847, is one for "Old John Brinton, a pensioner." In cemetery at Rising Sun, Ohio county, are (1) John Elliott (grave unmarked save by a small stone on which is inscribed "A Soldier of 1776," set up by the sexton, Mr. George Dugle), and (2) Noah Miller (grave marked by a slab mounted on four pillars). At Aberdeen, Ohio county, is buried Robert Turner, of Lycoming county, Pa., grandfather of Robert Easton, of Rising Sun. In New Washington, Clark county, is the grave of Alden Smith, a Revolutionary soldier from Massachusetts, who, after the war, emigrated to western New York, and afterward came to Indiana. Near New Washington, in a country graveyard, is Thomas Arbuckle. He was from Rockbridge county, Va. Emigrated to Kentucky, and later to Indiana.

According to an old book called "Barber's History of All the

States and Territories," the following inscription is from monument in "the graveyard at Fort Wayne."

"Sacred to the memory of Alexander Ewing, one of the best soldiers of the Revolution. From the year 1780 to the year of 1783 he was actively engaged in the ranger service on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania. He was a volunteer at the battle of the Thames in 1813, and among the first to break the British lines on that occasion, so glorious to the credit of his country. Died at Fort Wayne, January 1, 1827, at 47 years."

From Captain L. C. Baird, of Jeffersonville, Ind., we have a receipt of a list of the burial places of veterans of our several wars. This list contains in all 211 names, classed as follows: Revolutionary War, 2; War of 1812, 1; Mexican War, 4; War of the Rebellion, 182; Spanish War, 3. Nineteen buried in the cemetery are classed as both Mexican and Civil War soldiers. Four cemeteries are specified—"Mulberry Street," "Washington Ridge," "Eastern," and "Roman Catholic," all of which, we are told, are located in Jeffersonville.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

A Campbell Family Tradition.—In the *Rockville Tribune* for December 26, 1906, Captain John T. Campbell relates at length a story, traditional in his family, of the capture by Indians, in 1800, of two boys, John Campbell and Vinson Edwards (the former was the uncle of the writer). The capture was made in what is now Sullivan county, and the boys were taken northward. Neither ever found his way back home. Of Edwards's after life little was ever ascertained, but Campbell, after being traded about from tribe to tribe, became practically an Indian in his tastes, married among them and eventually organized a band of his own and became a chief. His story is one of the romance tales of Indian days, and is, we believe, unrecorded, except in this narrative of Captain Campbell's. Incidentally the writer tells of several matters that are interesting, as, for example, the ruffianisms of a white man, known as "Woolly Neck," which led to the retaliatory stealing of the boys. There is also a description of a fierce tornado that greeted his grandfather and his fellow immigrants just as they arrived at their Indiana home.

"*The Battle of Cass County.*"—This is the caption of a short article by W. S. Wright in the *Logansport Journal*, January 27, 1907. In it the writer recalls that in 1791 occurred a fight between the Indians of Eel river and the force under General Wilkinson, in his expedition down the Wabash. This has local interest as being within the bounds of the present Cass county.

A Heroine of Civil War Days.—The recent death in Greencastle of Mrs. David E. Badger recalls an incident which is an echo of Civil War times, the particulars of which are told by a correspondent to the *Indianapolis News* in the issue of February 14, 1907. The substance of it is that in a riot in Greencastle precipitated between some Union soldiers there and an overwhelming number of Southern sympathizers, Mrs. Badger, then Miss Lou Walls, fronted the assailing mob with a saber and fairly held it at bay until the tables were turned by the report that Morton's troops were coming. In consequence of her fearless act, says the correspondent, "Governor Morton soon afterward invited her to Indianapolis, and she spent a week in that city, the guest of the State, for she was taken in charge by the officers of the army under the direction of the Governor, and was the guest of honor of the troops then in the camps near Indianapolis. Among the presents she received in recognition of her bravery, was a silk dress from the Governor and his staff, an engraved revolver from the Forty-third Regiment, another silk dress from friends, and many other things appreciated deeply by her."

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES—TIPPECANOE AND CASS COUNTIES.

Since our last issue two local historical societies have been added to the State's list. The first of these, in date, is the Tippecanoe Historical Society, organized last December with a list of about twenty-five active and ten honorary members. Judge Richard P. DeHart is president and Hon. Alva O. Reser secretary. At Logansport a vigorous society has just been formed with a good membership and, seemingly, an abundance of enthusiasm. Judge D. P. Baldwin is president and W. S. Wright secretary. An original feature of their plans is a division and classification of their proposed lines of work. These divisions, each to be under charge of an appointed head, are as follows:

1. Sociology, societies, churches, moral and religious matters.
2. Economic and industrial matters, improvements and agri-

of 1783 he was actively engaged
frontiers of New York and Pe
at the battle of the Thames -
broke the British lines on the
of his country. Died at Fort
years."

From Captain L. C. Baird, of February 14, 1882, receipt of a list of the burials in the castle precipitated wars. This list contains in overwhelming number Revolutionary War, 2; War of 1812, 1; Civil War, 1; Miss Lou Wallis, of the Rebellion, 182; Spanish War, 1. The only held it at bay cemetery are classed as battle sites. Morton's troops Four cemeteries are specified, act, says the cor- Ridge," "Eastern," and "Jefferson," invited her to

LOCAL

A Campbell Family Tree
 cember 26, 1906, Captain
 story, traditional in his
 of two boys, John Camp
 uncle of the writer).
 Sullivan county, and
 ever found his way
 was ever ascertained
 from tribe to tribe,
 married among them
 and became a chief.
 dian days, and is.
 of Captain Campbell.
 matters that are inte
 white man, known
 stealing of the boy
 nado that greeted
 just as they arrived.

county in 1911
led by
pushed
has been
governor of
r from e
unks and
to serve wi
e next legis
ll the historic

1. Jan. 8, 1907.

ne. Tipton's an
e old Naylor hom
Judge was brough
r's company for Tip
Sincerely,
JOHN A. H. OWENS.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. III

JUNE, 1907

No. 2

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

PAPER No. II.

The Old-Time Singing Schools; "Missouri Harmony" and Other Singing Books—Debating Clubs, Literary Societies and Other Amusements—Winter Sport—Religious Life and Its Social Side—Notes by the Editor.

THE old-time singing schools served the double purpose of social gatherings and schools of vocal instruction. In the country such schools were held either at the district school-houses or the local churches of denominations other than the Friends, these at that time opposing musical instruction of every kind. The books used were those devoted to sacred music. Probably the earliest of the music books used in Henry county was the "Missouri Harmony," a book that contained many of the standard hymns which survive from generation to generation with others, the words and music of which are now forgotten. It was written in what was known as "buckwheat" notes, because the characters representing the notes resembled grains of buckwheat, but each differed from the other sufficiently to indicate its name without reference to its position on the staff. The "Missouri Harmony" only used the four syllables, mi, fa, sol, la, repeating them to make the full octave, thus: fa, sol, la, mi, fa, sol, la, fa. When the "Missouri Harmony," which held the field a long time, went out, it was succeeded by either the round note system now in use, the figure note system, or an extension of the system used in the "Harmony," which provided additional characters for the three notes of the octave—do, si, re, the do being repeated to fill out the octave.

In many country neighborhoods the singings occurred on Sunday afternoons. The meetings, however, were not confined to Sundays, as the master found it best to have two or three schools on hand at the same time. Several masters were often running

schools in the same neighborhood, and between these schools there was considerable emulation which sometimes led to a joint meeting where the rival classes, under the leadership of their respective teachers, contested for superiority. The singers were chosen very much as were the spellers at the spelling match. Judges were selected who were to listen to all the contests, and award the honors. The first class to sing stood and sang the selections, first the notes and then the words. The second class in like manner, sang the same selections, and then two more. The first class then sang the latter airs and two new ones, and so on till the contest closed. In the midst of every afternoon school there was a recess, which was made good use of by old and young. For pure and wholesome social enjoyment, few recreations surpassed the old country singing-school, and there at the same time were trained many sweet singers for the local churches, as well as for the homes.

In the older books the parts were arranged for treble, or air answering to the modern soprano, and sung by men as well as women; tenor, or double air, for both men and women, and bass, for men. Baritone and alto were not used. Among the books in use other than "Missouri Harmony" were the "Christian Psalmist," the "Sacred Melodeon," two or three of Dr. Lowell Mason's books (which used the Guidonian system), several of A. D. Filmore's books, and a number of others. The "Christian Psalmist" and Filmore's books were written in the figure system, which was invented by Rev. Thomas Harrison, a teacher. The "Sacred Melodeon" was in the improved "buckwheat" notation.

Among the early singing masters of Henry county were Lee Shelley, afterward sheriff of the county; "Sam" Hill, author of the once popular song with the chorus:

"I am so fond of singing school I can't stay away, oh, I can't stay away,"

and William Cole, a composer of some note. There were also Joseph Rich, Joseph Shawhan, Mason Clift, George R. Pennell, Jacob M. Ward, Benjamin Hawley and others. The most notable of them all, perhaps, was John Wyatt, who possessed a bass voice that would have won him fame had he properly cultivated it and sought his chance instead of contenting himself with country singing-schools at fifty cents per scholar. He

afterward became a hardware merchant at Lewisville, and then a justice of the peace.

The usual charges in these schools were fifty to seventy-five cents per pupil for a term of twelve lessons, and at these rates the classes not infrequently tested the holding capacities of the rooms where they met.

So attractive were these singing-schools that a large percentage of the young Quakers of fifty years ago persisted in taking part in them, despite all the restraints imposed by their people, and to that fact is largely due the changed attitude of the second generation of Friends toward the study of music.

Other social features that combined diversion and social intercourse with a valuable intellectual training were the debating clubs, moot courts, mock legislatures, (1) and literary societies. Men who afterward became prominent in the State's history as politicians, statesmen, orators and thinkers had their beginnings and first fed their aspirations in these neighborhood organizations which stimulated their budding powers. The debating club, moot court and mock legislature afforded excellent practice in impromptu speaking and in parliamentary usage. The moot courts were more common to the smaller villages than to the country or large towns. The popularity of the literary society was general. In the early fifties they became numerous throughout Henry and Wayne counties, and joint meetings were held in which societies from Spiceland, Raysville, Knightstown, Union, Dublin, Richmond and other places took part. The literary club idea, so popular now, seems to have had its origin in the old literary societies or "literaries," and the literary picnics or associations in which they united were very similar to the club federations of the present.

One other form of assemblage that should be mentioned is the picnic, which, except in the form of the *fete champetre*, previously spoken of, did not come in until a few years before the Civil war. The ordinary picnic of to-day has for its object diversion pure and simple, unrelated to any more serious purpose, but originally it was connected with the idea of promoting some moral cause—temperance, the Sunday-schools, etc., or at least it was to celebrate some great day in the calendar, such as the

schools in the same neighborhood there was considerable rivalry in the meeting where the respective teachers, chosen very much as the Judges were selected to award the honors. The selections, first the no in like manner, sang The first class then sang so on till the contest school there was a race and young. For pure recreations surpassed the same time were the churches, as well as families.

In the older books answering to the modern women; tenor, or double for men. Baritone and in use other than "The Psalmist," the "Sacred Mason's books (which A. D. Filmore's book "The Psalmist" and Filmore which was invented by "Sacred Melodeon" was

Among the early singers Shelley, afterward singer of the once popular songs

"I am so fond of singing

and William Cole, a Joseph Rich, Joseph Jacob M. Ward, Benjamin of them all, perhaps the bass voice that would have rivaled it and sought with country singing

re our fathers and mothers wisdomfulness should be combined to believe that the social picnic has no excuse to justify its existence. For every picnic, mention may be made of a winter sport in early Henry. Before the protecting forest snows lay upon the ground much of the time, nothing was generally indulged in but sliding, sledge, jumper or other sliding on highways and contributed it to the business of the daily show. All to construct a sled of some kind as the hickory jumper. In the old days hickory poles notched at one end and tied to the horse's corner holes in the pole runners were used other than the bridle. The pole shafts were tied by a knot of the roughest form, loosened by its crudeness. The sleds made from natural logs were comfortable bodies and the most pleasant and easiest to use. Men hesitate to start out on a sled with but little fear of

synodical gatherings of the various sects represented in the county, including the friends, were times of great extension of generous feeling and of the social spirit. These were freely enterprising times of the churches in the Henry county meeting, they were held on the surrounding farms. In these meetings, it

NA MAGAZINE
neighborhood,
emulation w
al classes, u
ntested for s

was no sm
and their

A like s
were the r
any contr
come, but
came emp
the exten
social val
the presen
which fan
and dwelt
not only t
were also
cool shade
table, and
between
were who

In this
ligious de
but little
tists, Met
large imm
Campbell
rapidly.
German E
or 'Germa
versalists,
ists. The

The Du
especially
the men '
of their n
bearded b
Lord's Su
collar, the
the clothi
the church

ing the
times a
generous
social spiri
freely enter
the church
Henry coun
ing, they wer
rrounding farms
these meetings, it

mentioned is the
petre, previously
before the Civil
object division
us purpose, but
promoting some
etc., or at least
such as the

Fourth of July. So imbued were our fathers and mothers with the notion that pleasure and usefulness should be combined that it took them a good while to believe that the social picnic had merits of its own and needed no excuse to justify its existence.

By way of contrast to the summer picnic, mention may be made of the most popular out-of-door winter sport in early Henry county. This was sleighing. Before the protecting forests were cleared away, our winter snows lay upon the ground much longer than they do now, and sleighing was generally indulged in. Every sort of sleigh, sled, spider, jumper or other sliding vehicle took its place upon the highways and contributed its mite to the variety and picturesqueness of the daily show. Almost every man and boy knew how to construct a sled of some kind. The most primitive kind was the hickory jumper. It was often made without a nail, of long hickory poles notched at the proper places to allow the curves and tied to the horse's corn-husk collar. Long pins set in auger holes in the pole runners supported the seat. No harness was used other than the bridle and lines and the collar, to which the pole shafts were tied by strings. The jumper was a mere skeleton of the roughest form, but the sport of riding one was heightened by its crudeness. On the other hand, the fine, strong sleighs made from natural runners and provided with handsome, comfortable bodies and seats by the local workmen, were the pleasantest and easiest-going of all vehicles. People did not then hesitate to start out on sleigh journeys of many days' duration with but little fear of a sudden passing away of the snow. (2)

The various conferences, associations, synodical gatherings and camp and protracted meetings of the various sects represented in the early religious life of Henry county, including the monthly and quarterly meetings of the Friends, were times of reunion among old associates, and for the extension of generous hospitality, and also for a decorous exercise of the social spirit. Visitors to such meetings from a distance were freely entertained by the people who lived in the vicinities of the churches where the gatherings assembled. When the Henry county Quakers went up to Richmond to yearly meeting, they were made at home by the Friends of the town or surrounding farms. As at least three States were represented in these meetings, it

was no small tax upon the generosity of the Richmond Quakers and their neighbors.

A like spirit was manifested by the other sects. Those who were the recipients of such hospitality understood very well that any contributions of provisions they might make would be welcome, but they were welcomed without question when they came empty-handed. The exchange of friendly amenities and the extension of acquaintance served to give the meetings a social value that is lacking in the more formal gatherings of the present day. The summer or autumnal camp-meetings at which families of the same faith collected, from near and far, and dwelt in rough cabins or tents, sometimes for weeks, were not only times of intense religious aspirations and endeavor, but were also social in their character. The well-ordered camp, the cool shades, the meals partaken of in the woods or at a common table, and the hours open to converse and pleasant promenades between the hours of preaching, hymn-singing and worship, were wholly social in their character and effects.

In this connection it may be well to note that many of the religious denominations which are now strong in the county were but little known in its earlier life. As said, the Friends, Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians were the first. After the large immigrations of the thirties set in, the Christians or Campbellites began an earnest work of proselyting and grew rapidly. To the later period, also, belong the United Brethren, German Baptists, Dunkards or Tunkers, Lutherans, Allbrights or German Methodists, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Universalists, Hicksite Friends, Spiritualists, and African Methodists. These have been or are now prominent in the county.

The Dunkards have always been considered a peculiar people, especially in the quaintness of their garb and in the refusal of the men "to mar the corners of the beard," as well as in certain of their religious rites, such as the kissing between the full-bearded brethren, their foot-washings and their making of the Lord's Supper a generous meal. The shad coat, with standing collar, the broad-brimmed hat and the absence of buttons from the clothing are as characteristic of the masculine members of the church as they were of the old-time Quakers. Some Dun-

kards used to discard buttons altogether and fasten their coats and vests with hooks and eyes, which were hidden from view

EDITORIAL NOTES. 1. An odd diversion that seemed to prevail during the thirties was the "mock legislature." We say prevailed, for though the local histories make very little mention of it, occasional notices in contemporary newspapers indicate that it was popular. A word from some of our older readers describing this institution would be very acceptable. The "Indianapolis Legislature" flourished for several years during the thirties.

2. Mr. Parker omits to mention the "bob-sled" as a very important factor in the enjoyment of winter. As to when the bob-sled was introduced we are not informed, but it is no modern innovation. It consisted of two short pairs of runners set tandem, the front pair responding freely to the tongue like the front wheels of a wagon, thus affording extra length for a sleigh, and at the same time turning with safety. Primarily it was designed for heavy hauling, but it lent itself admirably to social purposes when, surmounted by a big box-bed partially filled with clean straw, it made a snug, warm nest for a dozen or so boys and girls. Probably no social bunch on earth was ever more in hilarious evidence than the jolly bob-sled party of a moonlight night when the big runners sang a song to the crisp snow on the well-beaten road and the mettlesome horses tugged at the taut lines, while their flying hoofs beat a tattoo and the bells jangled merrily. Doubtless the old bob-sled was a potent promoter of the gentler passion and early marriages, for a half-score of buxom damsels and husky swains jumbled together within the compass of a box-bed was a powerful stimulus to love's young dream. In chronicles of the past let not the bob-sled be forgotten. As one appreciative poet sings:

"Good old Mr. Bob-sled,
Though yer out o' style,
Still ye've got these other sleds beat a thousan' mile.
Least that's my opinion,
An' I'd ort t' know,
'Cause we was just like kinfolks forty years ago."*

*W. M. Herschell.

Another omission of Mr. Parker's is the spelling-school, perhaps the most famous of all the old institutions, and the popularity of which still continues in some districts. The world at large is familiar with Edward Eggleston's description in the "Hoosier Schoolmaster" of a spelling-match. Little perhaps, can be added to that, except that the method of spelling as there given does not correspond exactly to the common method of a later day. There the heads of the classes are pitted against each other and the spelling is confined to them until one misses, when the next in line takes his place. The mode with which we are familiar carries back and forth and down the standing lines from head to foot and back again till the poorer spellers are weeded out and the better following till one side is down. The rivalry and personal ambition and feeling involved in these contests were quite as intense as Mr. Eggleston portrays them, and all participants will recall the excitement and little tremor of dread that always went with the possibility of defeat. No other intellectual practice of our fathers, perhaps, so engendered and fed a desire for neighborhood glory as these trials of orthographic skill, and the cultivation in this direction was quite out of proportion to that of the other branches of the simple country-school curricula. Prompted by the thirst for glory, many a country boy consumed what might be called the midnight tallow at home over his spelling-book with an assiduity that nothing else could have caused. The absolute standard of authority generally recognized was the spelling-book then in use, and any appeal from that to a lexicon where words were spelled more ways than one was considered an unfair subterfuge and was frowned down. The familiarity with the words as arranged in the spelling-book columns was oftentimes amusing, and not infrequently, as we well remember, when the first word was given out and spelled, the following ones were successively tripped off the tongue with a swiftness that left him who pronounced following after, functionless and bewildered, till finally some one failed to remember. The pupils of a school considered the privilege of an occasional spelling bee a vested right, and as a rule the little district schoolhouse was crowded to its limit, not only by the young people who participated but also by their elders, who sat sedately by witnessing with parental pride the performances of their offspring.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

No. II—THE NATIONAL ROAD.

BY SMILEY N. CHAMBERS.

[This paper was read before the Indiana Centennial Association Indianapolis, July 4, 1900. It is here slightly abridged. The full text may be found in the *Indianapolis Journal* for July 15, 1900.]

NEED OF A GREAT HIGHWAY.

Our fathers, endowed with wisdom, courage and foresight, possessing a broad, though by no means adequate, prophecy of the future development of the country, early saw the importance of a public highway connecting the Eastern coast with the broad and undeveloped West. The Eastern coast cities were looking toward the West for increase of commercial business. The mountains quite effectually shut off communication between the sections. But west, between the Blue Ridge and the Mississippi River, even beyond, lay a vast territory covered with splendid forests, a fertile soil, magnificent lakes and splendid rivers—an empire of unoccupied territory; the great Ohio river with its tributaries flowing into the Mississippi, at the mouth of which was situated New Orleans, with its rapidly increasing population. This splendid territory was to be subdued and occupied by the courageous and thrifty pioneer. Indians yet occupied much of it. The entire possession was exposed to invasion from north and south, not to speak of the frequent uprisings of the savages. The protective power of the East was required. It was early impressed upon those having charge of national affairs that military necessity, as well as commercial prosperity, required easy modes of communication between the widely separated sections of the country. The purchase of new territory, extending the limits of our domain, emphasized the necessity of adopting the best means of securing it and utilizing its resources. This was to be a great country. It should be bound together with the strongest possible bonds. Nothing better could be devised than a great public highway, leading from the cities of the East across the mountain ranges,

first to the navigable waters of the Ohio, where water communication could be had with the South, and, second, on to the Mississippi river, where a small settlement already was established. In our day of great railroad systems, telegraph lines and steamboat navigation, this does not seem to be much of an enterprise, but to our fathers, with but a few million people behind them, with a treasury of limited means, it was an undertaking of magnificent proportions and lofty patriotism. It early enlisted the earnest attention and interest of the foremost men of the Nation.

PRELIMINARY STEPS.

As early as 1797 a resolution was introduced upon the subject, but nothing more was done at that time. By an act of Congress April 30, 1802, the people of Ohio were enabled to form a constitutional government. It was therein provided that 2 per cent. of the proceeds of the sales of public lands within her limits should be held and applied in the construction of a public highway leading from some point on the coast to a point within her borders. A like provision was made in the act admitting Indiana into the Union, reserving 2 per cent. of the proceeds of her public lands for similar purpose. The effect of these provisions never dawned upon the minds of those enacting the laws. Nevertheless they were very important and far-reaching, as will be seen later on. They may almost be said to have been providentially inserted, for, trivial as they seemed, they became the lever which the advocates of larger expenditures for internal improvements used in advocacy of the doctrine of implied power in the government under the Constitution for the appropriation of public moneys, and the doing by the government of many things, the power to do which was denied by some of the ablest men of the time. The Cumberland, or, as it is more properly known in this section, the National Road, was frequently the subject of acrimonious debate by the ablest men in Congress. It was the occasion of an able message from President Monroe, and, in connection with the Chesapeake and Ohio canal, entered largely into the campaign of 1824, and became an object of universal discussion East and West.

An act was approved March 29, 1806 (the first congressional action taken), to regulate the laying out and making a road

from Cumberland in the State of Maryland, the head water of the Potomac, to the State of Ohio. The President was authorized to appoint three discreet and disinterested citizens of the United States to lay out a road from Cumberland, or a point on the northern bank of the River Potomac in the State of Maryland between there and the place where the main road leading from Givins to Winchester in Virginia crosses the river, to a point in the State of Ohio, whose duty it shall be, as soon as may be after their appointment, to repair to Cumberland aforesaid and view the grounds from the points on the River Potomac hereinbefore designated to the River there, and to lay out in such direction as they shall judge under all the circumstances the most proper a road from thence to the Ohio river, to strike the same at the most convenient place between a point on its eastern bank opposite to the northern boundary of Steubenville in said State of Ohio and the mouth of Grave creek, which empties into the said river a little below Wheeling, Va. It should be four rods wide and designated on each side by marks on trees or by stakes at every quarter mile. The commission should report to the President, who might accept or reject in whole or in part the report. If he should accept, he should pursue such measures as in his opinion should be proper to obtain consent for making the road of the State or States through which the same was laid out.

The act further provides: "In case the trees are standing they shall be cleared the whole width of four rods (sixty-five feet) and the road shall be raised in the middle of the carriage way with stone, earth or gravel and sand, or a combination of some or all of them, leaving or making, as the case may be, a ditch or water course on each side and contiguous to said carriage way, and in no instance should there be an elevation in said road when finished greater than an angle of 5 degrees with the horizon. But the manner of making said road, in every other particular, is left to the direction of the President" (a rather grave responsibility). Thirty thousand dollars was appropriated "to defray the expense of laying and making roads to the State of Ohio by virtue of the act of 1802." There was no provision in this act for the exercise of the right of eminent domain. There seems to have been no necessity for such pro-

vision, for we learn from the report of the commissioners that everybody wanted the road to come his way. But one man refused to join the government in the appointment of appraisers. He three times petitioned Congress for relief, but each committee to which his petition was referred reported against him, and finally he appealed to his own State, Virginia, but his petition was ignored.

PROGRESS REPORTED.

December 30, 1806, this commission made a report of progress, premising the report with the statement that "the duties imposed by law become of greater magnitude and a task much more arduous than was conceived before entering upon it." They had employed "a surveyor of professional merit" (sic), "two chain-carriers, a marker, one vaneman, a pack-horse man and a horse," the latter being described as indispensable and really beneficial in accelerating the work. They had examined a space "comprehending two thousand square miles, a task rendered still more incumbent by the solicitude and importunities of the inhabitants of every part of the district, who severally conceived their grounds entitled to preference."

The highest consideration governing the commission was, first, shortness of distance between navigable points on the eastern and western waters; second, a point on the Monongahela best calculated to equalize the advantage of this portage in the country within reach of it; third, a point on the Ohio river most capable of combining certainty of navigation with road accommodations, including in the estimate remote points westwardly, as well as present and probable population in the North and South; fourth, best method of diffusing benefits with the least distance of road.

The President had evidently been successful in selecting discreet and disinterested citizens. They seem to have done their work diligently and with an eye single to their duties under the law. They fixed the starting point at Cumberland, "a decision founded on propriety and in some measure on necessity." It ended at a point below the mouth of Wheelen's creek and the lower part of Wheelen's island. The route was twenty-four and a half miles in Maryland, seventy-five and a half miles

in Pennsylvania and twelve miles in Virginia. There was ~~an~~ contention between Brownsville and Uniontown, Pa., for the road, but the latter secured the prize. The commissioners were looking to further extensions of the road, for they say in locating the road through Brownsville it was seen that Wheeling lay in a line from Uniontown to the center of the State of Ohio at Post Vincennes. The latter was then territorial capital, the home of General Harrison, and swelling with prospects of future greatness. In this same year Vincennes University was liberally endowed with lands by Congress, and the progressive citizens of the post that year formed a library association which in a few years accumulated a library of most excellent books which now are the property of the university. Attention throughout the country was much attracted toward this point. Jefferson in his message to Congress conveying the report refers to this suggestion of conveying the road through Vincennes as passing through "a very interesting section of the country."

The commissioners estimated the expense of the construction of the road at \$6,000 per mile, and this conclusion was reached by recurring to the experience of Pennsylvania and Maryland in the business of artificial roads. As to the policy of increasing this expense, it is not, they say, the province of these commissioners to declare, but they can not, however, withhold assurances of a firm belief that the purse of the Nation can not be more seasonably opened or more happily applied than in promoting the speedy and effectual establishment of a great and necessary road in the way contemplated.

JEFFERSON'S ACTION.

In January, 1807, Mr. Jefferson, in a message to Congress, transmitted the report of these commissioners. He says: "On receipt of the report I took measures to obtain consent for making the road of the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, through which the commissioners proposed to lay it out. I have received acts of the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia giving the consent desired. That of Pennsylvania has the subject still under consideration, as is supposed. Until I have received consent to a free choice of route through the whole distance I have thought it safest neither to accept nor reject

finally the partial report of the commissioners. Some matters suggested in the report belong exclusively to the legislature." In February, 1808, Mr. Jefferson reported that he had received the consent of Pennsylvania and had consequently approved the route proposed to Uniontown, and then continues:

"From thence the course to the Ohio and the point within the legal limits at which it shall strike the river is still to be decided. In forming this decision I shall pay material regard to the interests and wishes of the populous parts of the State of Ohio and to a future and convenient connection with the road which is to lead from the Indiana boundary near Cincinnati by Vincennes to the Mississippi at St. Louis, under authority of the act of the 21st of April, 1806. In this way we may accomplish a continued and advantageous line of communication from the seat of the general government to St. Louis, passing through several very interesting parts of the Western country."

The government was gradually being committed to a general system of internal improvements. Much criticism was made of Jefferson. His course was justified upon the proposition that the government was pledged to the construction of this road by the reservation in the act admitting Ohio into the Union at 2 per cent. of the proceeds of sales of public lands within its limits. But in the above suggestion Mr. Jefferson was running ahead of this proposition, for as yet no provision as to Indiana and Illinois public lands had been made.

Nevertheless, this road to Wheeling was constructed and became a great thoroughfare. Mr. Mitchell, of Maryland, in 1823, in a report on the practicability of connecting the Susquehanna with the Ohio, says: "It has been estimated that in the year 1823 there were, on an average, 2,555 wagoners employed in the transportation of merchandise from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh alone; that they carried 89,425 hundred-weight, which was valued at \$17,885,000. From Baltimore, in the same year, merchandise to the value of \$12,000,000 was transported over this highway."

The West was growing rapidly in population and political power. In 1816 Indiana was admitted to the Union, and 2 per cent. of the proceeds of the sales was reserved for the construction of this road. Illinois was rapidly increasing in population,

while the great territory west of the Mississippi was open grandly to the vision of the home-seekers. The people growing impatient for means of intercommunication between them and those of the East. The spirit of internal improvement, popularly known as the "American system" was rapidly gaining, but the pioneers were poor and the States hardly organized. The pressure upon the government for more action was great.

DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.

In the meantime division became more acute among states as to the power of the federal government to collect and expend money in such enterprises. As early as 1815 the somewhat exuberant Madison in a message to Congress refers to the great importance of establishing throughout the country the roads and canals which can be best executed under national authority. "No objects," he says, "within the circle of political economy so richly repay the expense bestowed on them; there are none the utility of which is more universally ascertained and acknowledged; none that do more honor to the government whose wise and enlarged patriotism duly appreciate them. No is there any country which presents a field where nature invites more the art of man to contemplate her own work for his accommodation and benefit. These considerations are strengthened, moreover, by the political effect of these facilities for intercommunication in bringing and binding more closely together the various parts of our extended confederacy. While the States individually, with a laudable enterprise and emulation, avail themselves of their local advantages by new roads, by navigable canals and by improving the streams susceptible of navigation, the general government is the better adapted to similar undertakings requiring a national jurisdiction and national means, by the prospect of thus systematically completing so inestimable a work; and it is a happy reflection that any defect of constitutional authority which may be encountered can be supplied in a mode which the Constitution itself has providently pointed out."

This latter suggestion evidently meant an amendment to the Constitution. A resolution was introduced in Congress looking

to that result, but was voted down by those who believed that the implied powers under the Constitution were sufficiently broad to warrant such expenditures. The West was unwilling to wait the slow method of constitutional amendment.

The thirteen States which had entered into the League of Confederation occupied territorial possessions upon the Atlantic stretched out upon a coast line greater in length than fifteen degrees of latitude. Each desired a commerce of its own upon the ocean, and such methods of developing its internal resources as were dictated by the varieties of soil and climate, and by the habits and customs of the inhabitants.

It is strange to us that there was no national effort to construct a great highway along the coast, connecting the great cities along it, uniting New England and the South. The failure can be accounted for only upon the theory that each State was jealous of its own possessions, of its own development. State pride, or, as we term it, State rights, diverted the national energies in the directions of those regions the trade and commerce of which were open to all, where to subdue the Indians and to open up new territories for a rapidly accumulating population might be found a common ground of action. Thus along the line of the National Road, over the mountains into the vast and virgin forests of Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, the star of empire took its course. Even here there were encountered difficulties arising from the necessity for passing through the States of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Special acts of consent by these States were required to permit the location and construction of the road. As we have already seen, Mr. Jefferson refused to proceed to any steps until these acts had been passed.

A PERPLEXING QUESTION.

The more perplexing question in the way of completing the enterprise was, had Congress the power to appropriate the public money for carrying on a general system of internal improvements? This question had been growing in importance for a number of years. It entered into political discussions and divided the people. Both Jefferson and Monroe had used public funds in the acquisition of territory, Jefferson in the purchase

of Louisiana Territory from France, and Monroe of Florida from Spain. Both purchases were opposed by many able men on constitutional grounds. So that when Congress, in 1802, passed an act authorizing the expenditure of further public funds for the further extension of the Cumberland or National Road, the act was met by a veto from Mr. Monroe. Mr. Monroe had belonged to the school of strict constructionists. He was opposed to the rule followed by Washington, with the support of Hamilton, "That congressional power was not limited by the express grants of the Constitution, but that it included such implied powers as were necessary to execute the express powers." He was more inclined to follow the "strict construction" theory of Jefferson and Madison. "His veto message," says Colonel Thompson, "was the longest and most labored ever sent to Congress, and subjected him to severe criticism, especially in the West, where the sentiment in favor of the road was very strong. He was charged with inconsistency in using public funds for the purchase of Florida, as Jefferson had done in the purchase of Louisiana, and yet was willing so to restrict the powers of the government in regard to internal improvements that the country should be left dependent upon the States alone, without any aid whatever from the general government." Colonel Thompson adds: "The new States interested in the Cumberland road were occupied by an industrious population engaged in clearing away the forests, in order to make the lands more productive and profitable, and were consequently in condition to be taxed by the States, even for improvements absolutely necessary for local purposes. They reasoned that if the national government possessed the power to acquire foreign territory, or to exercise ownership over the public domain within the States, it must necessarily and logically possess also the incidental power to make interstate improvements, in order thereby to induce emigration from the old to the new States, to increase the value and sales of the public lands, and to add to the general prosperity."

It is to be said to the credit of Mr. Monroe that he modified his views, and even in his veto message he says: "It is contended on the one side that as the national government is a government of limited powers, it has no right to expend money

except in the performance of acts authorized by the other specific grants, according to a strict construction of their powers; that this grant, in neither of its branches, gives to Congress discretionary power of any kind, but it is a mere instrument in its hands to carry into effect the powers contained in the other grants. To this construction I was inclined in the more early stage of our government, but on further reflection and observation my mind has undergone a change."

Even thus early we find that the national development and extension of population, with new necessities, were effecting in the minds of new statesmen a change of views as to the powers conferred by the Constitution. We can but wonder how the face of things would be changed had the trend of thought in the direction of limiting the powers of the government to those expressly conferred prevailed, when we recall the vast sums expended in various ways for the extension of commerce, the building of canals, improvement of rivers and harbors, irrigating waste lands and the construction of vast railways. What an economy the other view would have brought to the people; but with what inconvenience and obstruction to development of the country can not be described.

MONROE'S VETO.

I make bold to copy one paragraph from this veto message of Mr. Monroe. While we have great respect for the ability and patriotism of our early statesmen, from our position of vast acquirements and splendid facilities for transportation we are somewhat amused at the arguments used by them and the illustrations with which they were illuminated. He is speaking of the constitutional provision for establishing post-offices and post roads, and says:

"The object is the transportation of the mail throughout the United States, which may be done on horseback, and was so done until lately. Between the great towns and other places where the population is dense, stages are preferred because they afford an additional opportunity to make profit from passengers; but where the population is sparse, and on crossroads, it is generally carried on horseback, unconnected with passengers and other objects. It can not be doubted that the mail itself

may be carried in every part of our Union with nearly as much economy and greater dispatch on horseback than in a stagecoach in many parts with much greater. In every part of the country in which stages can be preferred the roads are sufficiently good, provided those which serve for every other purpose will accommodate them. In every other part where horses alone are used, if other people pass them on horseback, surely the mail can be carried. For an object so simple and so easy in its execution it would doubtless excite surprise if it should be thought proper to appoint commissioners to lay off the country in a great scheme of improvement, with the power to shorten distances, reduce heights, level mountains and pave surfaces."

In view of our great expenditures and the splendid facilities for distributing the mail now enjoyed, this carries a high flavor of humor. Yet it is part of one of the ablest messages ever sent to Congress by a President of the United States. The question of the power of the government to make internal improvements became the dividing line between political parties, and the presidential campaign of 1824, was fought out upon it, the Cumberland road and the Chesapeake & Ohio canal being most under discussion. It appeared in the courts, and the great doctrine of the implied power of Congress, under the Constitution, to make enactments and expenditures of public funds for which there was no express authority in its provisions was finally judicially declared by Chief Justice John Marshall, in the case of *McCulloch vs. The State of Maryland*, in which it was decided that the State of Maryland could not tax the shares of the stock in the United States Bank because it was prohibited from doing so by the act establishing the bank.

THE QUESTION IN CONGRESS.

There was scarcely a session of Congress from 1815 to 1840 in which the Cumberland road was not under discussion. It was always asking appropriations for surveys, construction and repairs. Every inch of it was fought over time and again. It was the subject of ridicule as well as oratorical flights. The ablest men of any time and country discussed its merits. It was spoken of as this noble monument of our enterprise and industry, this great artery of communication between the East and the

West, so essential to our intercourse and our prosperity. But the spirit of progress and material development usually came out victorious, winning its way against adverse majorities by some hook or crook. Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, who was opposed to the extension of the powers of the federal government beyond the constitutional limits, at one time said: "The only question is, shall we enjoy it or from fastidious technicality refuse it? To appropriate money out of the public treasury to keep it in repair is unjust and involves as strongly the constitutional question. The circumstances of this case being peculiar, this measure can not be considered as a precedent in reference to the general question." So he voted for the bill, as did others, and it passed. Whether the fact that Virginia by a legislative act had authorized the government to complete, establish and regulate this road as to them might seem proper, affected his vote can not now be told. But thus it was that the powers of the general government grew, little by little, local and personal interests often having a large influence, until not only a national road and canals, but a national banking system was finally projected and carried into effect; and the foundations of the great American Republic were laid firm and deep—a continent in a hundred years has been subdued, unprecented progress and development followed. The wonder of all generations is now the great American people.

John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, communicated to the House of Representatives a very lengthy letter on roads and canals, "With a View to Military Operations in Times of War." In it he says: "A judicious system of roads and canals constructed for the convenience of commerce and the transportation of the mail only, without any reference to military operations, is of itself among the most efficient means for the more complete defense of the United States. Such a system, by consolidating our Union, increasing our wealth and fiscal capacity, would add greatly to our resources of war." He then suggests a vast system of roads to be laid out and constructed under the supervision of the Department of War, and that the engineers of the army be used in surveying and the soldiers be utilized in constructing them. This suggestion was not followed. Mr. Hemphill says: "It is curious to witness the alarm which is occasionally excited

concerning the exercise of constructive powers when Congress never in session a week without acting upon them. We have only to look at the statute books for instances, as the law relating to fugitives who are held to labor in any of the slave States, the laws regulating the carrying of mail, the Bank of the United States, the Military Academy, light houses, post houses and trading houses among the Indians; all are creations of constitutional powers. So are the laws relating to revenue cutters, the navy hospital, pension and gratuitous grants of money, and in the same class may be placed laws concerning vaccination and for the civilization of the vine. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we not only make laws which are the mere offspring of constructive powers, but we enforce them by high penalties and the infliction of punishment of death."

SECTIONAL FEELING.

It was proposed by a bill in 1817 to use the dividends from the shares in the bank of the United States for twenty years, which was the period of the charter, in the further extension and repair of the Cumberland road. It passed both Houses, but was vetoed by President Madison.

The feeling between the West and the East at times grew very intense on this subject. In 1827, when the question was before the House upon appropriating sufficient funds for continuing the work, Mr. Johnson, of Kentucky, said: "I am sorry to perceive that the people of the West were obliged to contend, inch by inch, for every inch of ground they obtained in this road. For twenty years they had been begging for little by little, and now, after the completion of the Cumberland road had been settled as a principle, they were opposed by the same opposition as had been made at first. The Western members were never backward in voting for fortifications and other improvements on the seaboard, and it was a hardship; the objects for the good of the Western States were uniformly opposed." (Congressional Debates, Volume 3.)

In the same debate Mr. Noble, of Indiana, said, speaking at "considerable length": "The provision in the act of 1821 was inserted for the same reason that the 2 per cent. was filched from the Western States to make the road through Pennsylvania

and Virginia to Ohio. The gentleman from Pennsylvania was very willing that the work should stop, because the road through his own State was finished. The United States had taken the money and had undertaken to build the road, and now the benefits were withheld from the Western States because they were not sufficiently strong to enforce their rights, but (in a defiant mood) they would hereafter be able to claim them, and their fathers of the old States would be forced to yield them justice." He wished to know what authority the United States had to take the money of the States of the West and expend it to construct roads through two States, while the people in the forests were left to struggle through the swamps and morasses, yet whenever any relief was asked by the West they were met with constitutional scruples and difficulties.

The motion to strike out the appropriation was rejected and the West was victorious; \$30,000 was appropriated for the repair and maintenance of the road.

December 31, 1827, Mr. Noble introduced a bill for a continuation of the Cumberland road, which he prefaced by remarking that under the administration of Jefferson the first bill for the construction of the Cumberland road was passed, when Congress clearly held out to the people of the West that it should be continued. He wanted that pledge redeemed. The bill authorized the completion of the work to Zanesville, O., and provided for a survey to the seat of government of the State of Missouri.

In 1833 a bill was introduced to continue the road from Vandalia to Jefferson City, Mo. An amendment was offered by Mr. Benton to continue it thence to the western frontier of Missouri in the direction of the military post on the Missouri river above the mouth of Kansas (Fort Leavenworth), and to the intersection of the route for the commerce from Missouri to Santa Fe. He considered his amendment as "a link in the chain of the great road from Washington City to Santa Fe, the two ends of which had been either made or marked out by the federal government, and only the link in Missouri remaining to be filled up to complete the longest line of road made by any government since the time of the Roman empire. Benton's amendment was lost and the longest road did not materialize in the bill passed.

END OF THE ROAD.

The road was constructed, in many parts very imperfect through Indiana and as far as Vandalia, Ill. It could get further. It had dragged its slow length along for nearly half a century. It was, however, finally overtaken by the steam railway and then ceased to exist as an object of national concern. This road was under discussion as late as in 1846. Upon that occasion the celebrated Georgian, Mr. Yancey, said:

"When the project of the Cumberland road was first conceived it was needed as a great highway for the trade and produce of the fertile west to find an outlet on the Atlantic coast. The mountains intervened between the Ohio valley and the Atlantic coast. Steam, not then in such general use as now, had not rendered the upper Ohio navigable; railroads had not clamped now with iron bands the trembling earth. The rich produce of the soil found its way to market over rough roads upon the lumbering wagons, and the traveler when jolted over them at the rate of sixty miles a day considered himself as doing a good day's work. How different now! The broad Ohio is navigable by hundreds of floating palaces, propelled against its current by fire-breathing engines. The mountains are pierced by railroads and canals. * * * Why, sir, men are behind the times with this old road. The spirit of the age is onward. Thirty miles an hour on land; a thousand miles a minute on Professor Morse's wires is deemed ordinary speed. On this road, my friend from Indiana (Mr. Owen), informs me that during parts of the year he has been able to make but two miles an hour on horseback."

In 1848 an act was passed surrendering to the State of Indiana the Cumberland road. Mr. Hannegan, of Indiana, introduced the bill in the Senate. It was accepted by the State. Similar action was taken with reference to those portions in other States, and the "National Road" was no longer a federal institution.

THE ROAD IN INDIANA.

By an act of the General Assembly of Indiana, approved January 16, 1849, the Central Plank Road Company was incorporated. The commissioners named in this act were Nicholas McCarty, William Morrison, William Robson, Jeremiah Johnson and J. F.

Oaks, of Marion county; John Templin, Nathan Crawford and David S. Gooding, of Hancock county; Jesse Hockett, Joseph Lawhead and George Kneigh, of Hendricks county, and William Eaglesfield, David Scott and Gilmore Connelly, of Putnam county. By Section 17 of this act it is provided as follows:

"Section 17. This corporation is hereby empowered to take possession of, occupy and use, for the purpose of constructing a plank road thereon, all that portion of road known as 'the National Road,' together with the bridges, timber, stone, gravel or other materials now belonging to said road, lying between the eastern line of the county of Hancock and the western line of the county of Putnam; and all the rights and privileges heretofore belonging to the United States in regard to such part of said National Road, and which have been surrendered to the State of Indiana, be and the same are hereby transferred to and vested in said company for the purposes contemplated in this act; provided, that the president, directors and company of the Terre Haute & Richmond Railroad Company, or any other railroad, shall have the right and power of locating and constructing said railroad across said plank road and of recrossing the same at such points as shall be convenient or necessary, doing no injury to the same more than is absolutely necessary."

And thus ended the National Road in Indiana.

It had not realized the full importance hoped for it by its early projectors. It did not equal the construction and splendor of the renowned roads of the Roman empire and the Incas. Nevertheless, its history is a proud one. It served a great purpose. Over its rough way there traveled from civilization into a new and unsubdued country the sturdy and courageous pioneer. The extent to which it aided in the development of our great country can never be fully written. It was a noble monument to the courage and lofty patriotism of the fathers of the country.

MATTER RELATING TO NATIONAL ROAD IN INDIANA

OF works that treat of this great National enterprise a whole may be mentioned:

"The Old Pike," by T. B. Searight.

"The Cumberland Road," by Archer Butler Hulbert. No. of the series: "Historic Highways of America."

"The Old National Road—a Chapter of Expansion," by A. Hulbert. Monograph, with cuts and maps.

"The Old National Road—the Historic Highway of America" by A. B. Hulbert. 113 pp. in Vol. IX of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society publications.

The most elaborate account we have of the National Road is in "The Old Pike," a volume by T. B. Searight. Of its history at the eastern end, with the currents of life that flowed over there for many years, he makes a most picturesque and readable story, but of that part that ran through Indiana but little is said and we have, indeed, some difficulty in unearthing information about this section. Searight tells us that the length of the line through Indiana is $149\frac{1}{4}$ miles, on which the general government expended \$513,099 for bridges and masonry; that the road was completed through Wayne county in 1827, and that in 1850 this section of it was surrendered to the Wayne County Turnpike Company. Something like a score of taverns were located within the bounds of Wayne county alone, which may be taken as something of an index to the amount of travel over this road. State Geologist Blatchley, in his annual report for 1905, gives the various appropriations for the work in this State, as follows:

March 2, 1831, \$75,000 for opening, grading, etc., including bridge over White river near Indianapolis, and progressing to the eastern and western boundaries.

July 3, 1832, \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridges over the east and west branches of Whitewater river.

March 2, 1833, \$100,000 to continue the work in Indiana.

June 24, 1834, \$150,000 for continuing the work in Indiana.

March 3, 1835, \$100,000 for continuing the work in Indiana.

July 2, 1836, \$250,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including the materials for a bridge over the Wabash river, the money to be expended in completing the greatest possible continuous portion of said road, so that said finished part may be surrendered to the State.

March 3, 1837, \$100,000 for continuing the road in Indiana,

May 25, 1838, \$150,000 for continuing the road in Indiana, including bridges.

"About this date," says Mr. Blatchley, "the panic of 1837-'40 was being felt and no more appropriations were granted. In 1848 the road was turned over to the respective States through which it passed. Of the total amount, \$6,824,919, appropriated by Congress for making, repairing and continuing the road, but \$1,136,600 was allotted to Indiana, and this sum was paid from the fund reserved when the State was admitted to the Union. Of this amount nearly one-half, or \$513,099, was expended for bridges and masonry. * * * In 1850 the Wayne County Turnpike Company was organized and absorbed, under a charter granted by the State, that portion of the road, twenty-two miles in length, within that county. This company then graveled the road and operated it as a toll road until 1890-'94, when it was purchased by the several townships through which it passed and made free from tolls. From Wayne county westward the road passed through Henry, Hancock, Marion, Hendricks, Putnam, Clay and Vigo counties. That portion in Henry county was secured by a private corporation, graveled, and made a toll road about 1853. In 1849 the Central Plank Road Company, composed of prominent citizens of Marion and Hendricks counties, was granted that portion of the road extending from the east line of Hancock county to the west line of Putnam, for the purpose of constructing a plank road. With the granting of it to these several corporations the old National Road as a public institution, fostered by the nation or the State, ceased to be. It had fulfilled its high purpose and was superseded by better things which owed to it their coming."

George Carey Eggleston, writing recently for the *Yo. Companion*, says:

"The road from Cumberland to Wheeling had cost six thousand dollars a mile, without counting the cost of bridge. From the Ohio forward into the West about three thousand dollars a mile—and much less as the road advanced—sufficed. In the eastern division the road was paved six inches deep broken stone; every little brook was bridged by a stone culvert, and every mile of the road was drained by two deep ditches, one on each side of it. West of the Ohio the only work done was clear away the timber, grub up the stumps and dig ditches. There was no thought of a stone coating to the roadway, and no thought of anything else except to open a track over which wagons might be hauled through the mud. Here and there in the creek bottom lands the road was corduroyed."

Mr. Benjamin S. Parker, in J. J. Piatt's *Ohio Valley Annual*, "The Hesperian Tree," for 1903, gives this vivid description of travel on the old road "as seen and studied by a little boy in eastern Indiana, in the eighteen-forties":

"From morning till night there was a continual rumble of wheels, and, when the rush was greatest, there was never a minute that wagons were not in sight, and as a rule, one company of wagons was closely followed by another.

* * * * *

"Many families occupied two or more of the big road wagons then in use, with household goods and their implements, while extra horses, colts, cattle, sheep and sometimes hogs were led or driven behind. Thus, when five or ten families were moving in company, the procession of wagons, men, women, children and stock was quite lengthy and imposing. The younger women often drove the teams, while the men and boys walked by turns, to drive and look after the stock; and now and then there would be an old-fashioned carriage, set upon high wheels to go safely over stumps and through streams. The older women and little children occupied these, and went bobbing up and down on the great leather springs which were the fashion sixty years ago.

"But everybody did not travel in that way. Single families, occupying only a single one or two-horse wagon or cart, fre-

quently passed along, seeming as confident and hopeful as the others; while even the resolute family, the members of which carried their worldly possessions upon their backs or pushed them forward in hand-wagons, was not an unfamiliar spectacle to the little boys who watched by the way.

"The wagons, horses and other belongings of the movers were fair indications, not only of their worldly condition and intelligence, but also of the sections from whence they came. The great Pennsylvania wagons, with their elaborately panelled beds, running up high in front and rear, were also used by the better-to-do Virginians and Carolinians, with this difference, that the Pennsylvania wagons were very large and often drawn by four or six fine horses, well matched for size and color, while the Virginians and Carolinians seldom drove more than two horses. A company of these well-to-do movers with their great wagons, large, well-groomed horses in heavy harness, glittering with brass-headed rivets, rings and other ornaments, with bows of melodious bells, either above the points of the hames or upon the heavy backbands, and with great housings of bearskin covering the shoulders and red plumes nodding from the head-gear, was a sight that the small boy put down in his book of memory, never to be forgotten.

"Very different from these were the little Southern carts, drawn by the little, bony Southern horses. It is a matter of tradition that numbers of these little Carolina wagons and carts were wrought of the tough young oak timber that grew upon the old fields of the South, and that the wood was so tenacious of fiber and the vehicles so well constructed by the rural wagon-makers, that they stood up through the journey over the mountains and along the roughest of roads without the aid of so much as an iron nail, and without tires or any kind of metal brace. The feet of the horses or mules that drew them were also guiltless of iron, and the children in the villages and upon the farms were quick to discover the arrival of a new Carolina family by the tracks of the tireless wheels and shoeless horses.

* * * * *

"With the tinkling of the bells, the rumbling of the wheels, the noise of the animals and the chatter of the people as they went forever forward, the little boy who had gone to the road

from his lonesome home in the woods was captivated and ried away into the great active world. But the greatest wa and delight of all was the stage-coach, radiant in new pain drawn by its four matched horses in their showy harness, filled inside and on top with well-dressed people. I think that there has never been a more graceful or handsome tur than one of these fine old stage-coaches drawn by a sple team of matched horses, and driven by such drivers as use handle the ribbons between Richmond and Indianapolis. could hear the driver playing his bugle as he approached little town, and it all seemed too grand and fine to be o than a dream."

In March, 1906, just one hundred years after the first C gressional action taken on the road, an attempt was made get through Congress a bill "to authorize the restoration of t Cumberland road by the Government of the United States a providing for its reconstruction and maintenance" (see *India aphis News* for March 30, 1906). About the same time (see *Nea* March 27), the question was raised between the Hancock coun commissioners and the Indianapolis & Eastern Traction Cor pany as to the real ownership of the road at the present day. According to the investigations of William A. Hughes, a attorney of Greenfield, the portion of the highway in tha county was transferred first to the State, then to the Centra Plank Road Company, then to Barney B. Gray, then to Jame P. Foley. During the Civil War the road was practically aban doned, and it became a question as to whether the title did not pass to the land-owners on either side of the way. This ques tion, we believe, has never been settled.

MEMORIALS, REPORTS, ETC., RELATING TO THE NATIONAL ROAD IN INDIANA, TO BE FOUND IN THE FEDERAL PUBLICATIONS, GIVEN IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.

1. Report on memorial from Indiana on location of Cumber land road through that State. 3 pp. 1826. Senate Documents, volume 3, number 59.
2. Memorial expressive of the ad vantages resulting from the Cumberland road and of the desire for its completion. 6 pp. 1828. Senate Docs., v. 4, No. 111.
3. Commissioners for locating National Road. 18 pp. 1828.

Senate Docs., v. 3, No. 99. 4. Memorial in relation to the Cumberland road in the State. 2 pp. 1830. House Reports v. 1, No. 174. 5. On the continuing of the Cumberland road in Ohio and Indiana. 9 pp. 1830. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 63. 6. Report relative to progress made in the construction and repair of the Cumberland road. 18 pp. 1833. Senate Docs., v. 1, No. 31. 7. Report of agent appointed to inspect the Cumberland road in Indiana. 42 pp. 1834. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 45. 8. Report on the condition of the Cumberland road in Illinois and Indiana. 10 pp. 1835. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 19. 9. Report relative to the construction of a bridge over Wabash river at crossing of Cumberland road. 7 pp. 1835. Senate Docs., v. 1, No. 10. 10. Resolution to obtain further appropriations for the Cumberland road in the State. 2 pp. 1836. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 125. 11. Report of House Committee on change of National Road between Springfield, O., and Richmond Ind. 32 pp. 1836. House Rep'ts, v. 2, No. 367. 12. Report on continuation of Cumberland road in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. 7 pp. House Rep'ts, v. 3, No. 671. 13. Memorial praying the early completion of the Cumberland road within the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. 2 pp. 1837. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 119. 14. Memorial of citizens of Indianapolis and vicinity in relation to the Cumberland road (Report on). 6 pp. 1837. House Rep'ts, v. 4, No. 1063. 15. Memorial praying the speedy completion of the Cumberland road within the State. 2 pp. 1838. Senate Docs., v. 3, No. 180. 16. Memorial praying an appropriation for the completion of the Cumberland road within the State. 2 pp. 1840. Senate Docs., v. 6, No. 310 (26-1). 17. Resolution in relation to the completion of Cumberland road. 4 pp. 1841. Senate Docs., v. 4, No. 197. 18. Memorial praying an appropriation for the completion of the National Road in the State. 2 pp. 1842. Senate Docs., v. 2, No. 32. 19. Report on completion of Cumberland road. 35 pp. 1846. House Rep'ts, v. 2, No. 211. 20. Report on completion of Cumberland road. 47 pp. 1848. House Rep'ts, v. 1, No. 99. 21. Resolution relative to the National Road. 1 p. 1848. Senate Misc. Docs., v. 1, No. 111.

All of the above material may be found in the State Library.

THE MICHIGAN ROAD.

THE Michigan road is, in a sense, a monument to the white man's shrewdness in his dealings with the red man. By the Mississinewa treaty of 1826 a goodly portion of northern Indiana was transferred to the United States for a price that would this day, perhaps, be equivalent to a few city lots, and the following clear gift, specified in Article II of the treaty, was secured by way of good measure. The article reads:

"As an evidence of the attachment which the Pottawattamie tribe feel toward the American people, and particularly to the soil of Indiana, and with a view to demonstrate their liberality and benefit themselves by creating facilities for traveling and increasing the value of their remaining country, the said tribe do hereby cede to the United States a strip of land, connecting at Lake Michigan and running thence to the Wabash river, one hundred feet wide, for a road; and also one section of good land contiguous to said road for each mile of the same and also for each mile of a road from termination thereof, through Indianapolis, to some convenient point on the Ohio river. And the General Assembly of the State of Indiana shall have a right to locate the said road and apply the said sections, or the proceeds thereof, to the making of the same, or any part thereof; and the said road shall be at their sole disposal."

The hand of the beneficiaries would seem to be very plain in this. Why the Pottawattamie Indians should feel an especial attachment to the American people, who were gradually pushing them off the earth, and how they were to be benefited by an inlet, the sole purpose of which was to facilitate the oncoming of the usurpers, and how, by the light of previous land transfers, the value of their remaining country would be enhanced to them, make a series of queries that need not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that from this gift of land the Michigan Road was built, the sales of land about balancing the cost of the road.* The work, begun in 1828, was practically a decade in

*The total expenditure on the road up to 1840, when it ceased to appear in the Auditor's reports, is given as \$242,000.00, and the receipts as \$241,331.88, with several hundreds of acres of land still to be sold.

the building, and during that period occupied a prominent place in the public interest, as revealed by papers of the time and by its frequent recurrence in the Governor's messages and in legislation. Like the National Road, its chief service, besides the local one, was as a route for immigration, and as such it was an important thoroughfare in the peopling of the Wabash valley and the territory beyond, until the coming of the Wabash & Erie Canal, when its usefulness lapsed. This applies particularly to the northern portion of the road. Between Indianapolis and Madison, prior to the establishment of the Madison railroad, it was an important thoroughfare of traffic, affording the principal outlet for the capital.

The general direction of the Michigan Road is as follows: Beginning at Trail Creek, on Lake Michigan, the road runs easterly to the southern bend of the St. Joseph river; thence southward to the Wabash river, which it crosses; thence to Indianapolis; thence southeast to Greensburg; thence south again to Madison.†

ROAD IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

AS the establishment of roads in the beginning was an absolute necessity to the settlement of the country, so the improvement of those roads, regardless of other systems of transportation, was essential to its welfare. We have already noted the difficulties that attended the original opening of the roads and their limited usefulness when opened. The improvements of the earlier day, despite the funds expended upon them and the unpaid labor of practically the whole male population, amounted to but little toward making the highways travelable except at certain seasons, and consisted almost wholly of cleaning the way, scraping up into the middle dirt that became mud when it got wet, and the laying of "corduroy" or supporting poles across the bottomless places. Even at the present day, with the country open, well-drained and comparatively dry, the ordinary dirt road is a vexatious makeshift, and when the for-

†"The Building of the Michigan Road," by Ethel L. Montgomery, is, we believe, the fullest study of this road that has been published. A long treatise by Mr. E. B. Oglesbee, of Laporte, exists in manuscript form.

est-encumbered land was saturated like a sponge for the 1a part of the year, its drawbacks were tenfold. The only serviceable material that was utilized at all was macadan broken stone, but the inaccessibility of this, except in a comparatively few localities, made it wholly impracticable over major part of the State's area, though certain highways included in the internal improvement scheme were to be benefited by it.

How seriously road improvement affected public welfare evidenced by our legislation. From the road law of 1820, which authorized the opening up of an extensive system of thoroughfares, on through the decades, there was scarcely a session in which road laws were enacted, adding to, modifying or repealing preceding statutes. It is, perhaps, an added argument against paternalism that no really effective improvement was accomplished until the State's efforts were succeeded by private enterprise. This change was contemporaneous with the introduction of the plank road idea. This innovation appears to have originated in Russia, to have found its way thence into Canada; and from there into parts of the United States lying contiguous to Canada. In a country where timber was not merely abundant, but an actual encumbrance, the conversion of this timber into a solid road as smooth as a floor was a captivating proposition, and the fever caught and spread. In no place was there better reason for its spreading than in Indiana, and accordingly for nearly ten years (through the fifties) we had the plank road era. The promise of immediate returns was, presumably, sufficient to attract capital, and the State very wisely handed over the new movement to the capitalists. From 1848 we find laws authorizing corporations to take possession of the existing roads, to convert them into plank roads, and to erect and maintain toll-houses for revenue along the same. In 1850 one of these companies, organized to build a plank road from New Harmony to Mt. Vernon, in Posey county, sent Robert Dale Owen to western New York to investigate the roads already in operation there, and the result was the publication of a small book containing a mass of information upon the subject.* There were various widths and methods of laying in the construction of

*Owen on "Plank Roads," New Albany, 1850.

these roads, but that recommended by Owen was eight feet wide, formed of planks two and a half to four inches thick laid crosswise on long mud-sills, and well spiked down. The cost of this material he estimated at \$938.08 to \$1,689.60 per mile, according to thickness of planks. The labor item is a party of twelve or fourteen hands with teams for plowing, scraping, rolling, etc., and these should lay from thirty to forty rods per day, at an expense of perhaps \$200 per mile. The approximate total cost of a road built of three-inch white oak planks is given as \$2,000 per mile.

While Owen, with the bias of an advocate, perhaps, figures that a white oak road would do good service for at least twelve years, as a matter of fact those constructed in this State would seem to be much shorter of life. Within ten years the decadence had plainly set in, for a law of 1859 prohibits the collection of tolls on roads that are not kept up, and about this time plank road legislation disappears from the statutes. The difficulty was not only decay, but the warping and working loose of the planks.

In 1858 we find the first statutory mention of gravel roads, and the introduction of this material, presumably about that time, was the beginning of a possible permanent excellence. Why it was not earlier used is not easy to learn, but it is probable that prior to the clearing up of the country, when the drift-choked, forest-environed streams flowed with a fuller volume, gravel bars were at once much less in evidence, and much less accessible than at a later day. Construction with this new material went on under private enterprise, the State became well traversed with toll roads, and the ubiquitous little toll-house, with its long sweep pole, is still fresh in the memories of most of us.

The next turn in legislation was a provision (as early as 1879) for the county control of free turnpikes and the authorization of tax levies for that purpose. Under these laws the improved roads have, one by one, been bought up by the several counties, and the abolishment of the tollgate is becoming general.

NORTHERN INDIANA IN 1829.

From the Indiana Republican (Madison), January 7, 1829.

MR. EDITOR: The writer of this has spent some days of last month examining the country on the St. Joseph of L Michigan, the Wabash and Kankikee. This country, exc the Kankikee, is embraced in the purchase made this fall fr the Pottawatamies.

We set out from Fort Wayne, a northwesterly direction to the St. Joseph of the Lake. The first twenty miles after leaving the Fort, the country is mostly covered with a heavy forest of timber; but a small portion of the soil is of good quality for farming. After passing Blue-grass creek, we passed a few miles of country, the land of an inferior quality, thinly timbered with oak and hickory, interspersed with a number of small lakes, from which flows to the southwest the head branch of the Tippecanoe river; we then entered the Elk-heart bottom; this bottom is about eight miles wide, soil and timber of the best quality. Elk-heart creek is a fine, boatable stream, running northwest, and the depth of the water (above the knees of our horses) affording a sufficiency at the driest season for all kinds of machinery. After crossing this creek we entered the Elk-heart prairie, about six miles long and from two to four wide, soil of the best quality. Along the southwest margin of this beautiful prairie flows the Elk-heart creek, on the north bank of which, and in the prairie, is the site of Five Medals village, well known to our soldiers of the late war as the residence of the Pottawatamie war chief, Five Medals. This creek unites with the St. Joseph a few miles south of the line dividing Indiana and Michigan Territory, and near this point is also the entrance from the north of a large creek, which flows from Pleasant lake in Michigan Territory; at the junction of these waters is a fine town site, possessing the advantages of being surrounded by a fine country of good land, and on the bank of the St. Joseph river, which is a deep, boatable stream, affording plenty of water for keel-boat navigation from this point to the lake at all seasons of the year—distance 75 to 100 miles by the river.

Twenty miles below the mouth of Elk-heart is the southern bend of the St. Joseph. At this place the American Fur Company have an establishment to carry on trade with the Indians; it is situated on a high, dry plain, affording a very handsome and extensive site for a village; through this place, the road, as lately laid off from Lake Michigan to Indianapolis, passes, affording it the advantage of a road south to the Wabash, as well as the river northwest to the lake, at all times navigable, with a good harbor for the largest lake vessels, and a safe bay at its entrance into the lake, and also a high and beautiful site for a town on the margin of the lake at the mouth of the river.

From the southern bend of the St. Joseph we traveled west to Lake Michigan; the country is dry and beautiful until we arrive within three or four miles of the lake, part rich barrens, and part first-rate timber land, with a large portion of prairie. We traveled part of the distance on the United States road, from Detroit to Chicago, this road which crosses the northern boundary of Indiana, about thirty miles east of Lake Michigan, and continues parallel with and near the north line of Indiana to the southern point of Lake Michigan. The tract of land through which this road passes was purchased from the Indians at the treaty of the Wabash, called the ten mile purchase, and as embraced between the north line of Indiana and the Kankikee river and ponds. This tract of land is perhaps surpassed by no other for beauty and fertility of soil. There may be a scarcity of timber after it is settled. It is watered with some spring rivulets, and has many beautiful lakes from one-fourth to one and one-half miles in circumference, with dry banks, sand bottoms, clear, sweet water, that abound with fish of various kinds.

We traveled from Lake Michigan a southeasterly course, and descended a hill of more than one hundred feet, and soon found ourselves in the neighborhood of these celebrated Kankikee ponds. The river of that name rises near the center of Indiana, from east to west, and flows west through a low valley, which is from four to eleven miles wide, and in the spring is covered with water. After the summer season sets in the quantity of water decreases, but there remains a marsh or swamp which is said to be sixty miles in length from east to west, and impossible

at most places for man or horse to pass; the river crosses the line dividing Indiana and Illinois about thirty-five miles south of Lake Michigan, and uniting with the river *Aux-plaines*, joins the Illinois river. The ponds above mentioned extend all the north side of the river beyond the State line. Most of the land on this river within Indiana is exceedingly poor. We crossed the Kankikee, which from its appearance we believe sufficiently large for boats to pass down it, from a point thirty or forty miles within the State of Indiana, part of the year. The trace on which we traveled led us southeast to Yellow river, a large branch of the Kankikee, within the country now owned by the Pottawatamies, and the whole distance between these rivers we saw no land suitable for farming, it being most wet prairie, or if timbered, with low black oak, and the soil of the most inferior quality. After crossing Yellow river and traveling about four miles, we passed a beautiful lake, from seven to ten miles in circumference, called by the Pottawatamie Indians Mix-in-kuk-kee. It is surrounded with rolling land of good quality and is formed from springs, and seems to occupy the highest summit between the Tippecanoe and Kankikee rivers. From it flows to the south a large creek, forming one of the principal branches of the former river, and distant from it about five miles. The lake will probably some day supply a feeder for a canal to connect the Wabash and Illinois rivers. From this lake we proceeded a short distance east and found the line of the Michigan Road, on which we traveled to the Wabash at the mouth of Eel river. Most of that country is good and susceptible of making a fine road. Should the legislature authorize, *as they most likely will*, the location of the donation of the Michigan Road in the prairie between the St. Joseph and Lake Michigan, and on the line of the United States road from Detroit to Chicago, it will sell for an immense sum of money, and within two or three years will form one of the best settlements in Indiana. The country lately purchased is susceptible of forming from three to five counties, and in five years after it is sold by the United States will have sufficient population to send an additional member to Congress.

A TRAVELER.

JOHN CONNER.

BY HIS GRANDDAUGHTER, MRS. SARAH C. CHRISTIAN.

My Grandfather Conner was associated with the earliest Indiana history. While it was still a territory he carried the dispatches from Ft. Washington, now Cincinnati, to Ft. Wayne, over an Indian trail, and with a Delaware guide. He was a member of the first legislature that met at Corydon. He was the founder of Connersville, and was the trusted friend and counselor of the red man.

When he first located at Connersville, he, with several other men, was building his cabin, which as yet had neither roof nor floor, when an emigrant wagon drew up and stopped, and the new-comer asked to be directed to Connersville. My Grandfather, standing in the door, laughed heartily and said, "My friend, you are right in the heart of the town."

Around this cabin was a heavy wall with a gate which fastened on the inside. This was for protection from the Indians. Grandfather had no fear of them, but they hated his white squaw.

One day when Grandmother and Jim, Grandfather's son by his Delaware squaw wife, who was then dead, were alone, the cabin was attacked by Indians. The gate had been accidentally left open, but they barred the door. Jim, terrified, hid under the bed, saying to Grandmother, "They will kill you, they have come to kill you. They are going to the top of the house and will come down the chimney." She told Jim to tell them that she would put a straw bed in the fireplace, and set fire to the first one who attempted it. Then they cut a large hole in the door and were going to crawl through, but Jim told them that she was standing by the door with the ax raised to chop off the head of the one who tried to come in. Grandfather came while they were there, and they all ran off as fast as they could go.

One Sunday evening while they were still living there, the chairs and stools of the cabin were all occupied by visiting neighbors when the girl who lived with Grandmother "had a beau." The embarrassed young man slipped back into a corner. There was a large dye kettle filled with blue dye, covered with

a cloth, standing there, and the young man sat down in it, sitting in head and heels, in his tow linen suit. The last of him he was fleeing from the place like a blue streak in the light. The expression, "went like a blue streak," may have originated in that incident.

An Indian council was held at Anderson at which Tecumseh was to preside. Grandfather, upon learning that Tecumseh could not be present, disguised himself to represent the Shawnee and went to the council. The chieftains representing the tribes sat down upon the ground in the form of a crescent and Grandfather in his disguise of paint, feathers and blanket took the seat intended for Tecumseh. He filled, lit the pipe and smoked a little. Then he passed it to the nearest chief who also smoked, passed it to the next and soon until it had gone round the semi-circle. Good as Grandfather's disguise was, some of the old Indians recognized him. He looked him over from one side, walked around and looked at him from the other, then he exclaimed, "You no Tecumseh—you big John Conner." Up to that time not a word had been spoken, but now they all jumped to their feet and whooped and yelled, taking it as a great joke.

Once, in company with a friend, Grandfather was traveling in the north part of the State. They stopped for the night in an Indian village. During the evening Grandfather, who thoroughly understood the Indians' language and customs, felt that there was something wrong, and after retiring to their tent he told his friend not to go to sleep, for he felt that they were in great danger. His friend only laughed at him and went to sleep, but Grandfather lay awake, apprehensive, and listening intently. About midnight he became conscious that there was some one at his tent. The flap moved, a hand was thrust in and grasped him by the wrist, and some one said, "Conner." Grandfather answered him and he said, "Wake your friend,—you are in great peril. If you are here in the morning, you will be killed." He awoke his friend, and they slipped out of the village, got their horses, which the friendly Indian had concealed some distance away, and left. The Indian who saved their lives was Grandfather's trusted friend, Tecumseh.*

*A story curiously like this is told of one "Captain W.," (supposed to be Wilson) by Judge Law in his "Colonial History of Vincennes" (pp. 99-106).

NEWSPAPER INDEX.

INDIANA JOURNAL—FOURTH INSTALMENT.

1838—

- Market, ordinance regulating.—Apr. 14.
Temperance Convention.—June 30.
Emigration.—Sept. 19.
Indians of the Wabash.—Oct. 26.
Indianapolis streets; over-setting of stage.—Nov. 10.
Central Canal and Madison R. R.—Nov. 10.
Madison R. R.—Nov. 17; Nov. 24; opening celebration of.—
Dec. 9.
Christmas and New Year's presents (ad.) First mention of
the days.—Dec. 22.

1839—

- Madison R. R.—First ad.—Apr. 20.
National Road Convention at Terre Haute.—July 16.
Canal trip to Broad Ripple.—Aug. 3.
Hoosier, description of.—Aug. 16.
"Poetical Portraits" of Western Versifiers.—Aug. 23.
Rattlesnake story.—Aug. 23.
Education, strictures on common (series, begins).—Aug. 30.
Jonathan Cool, death of.—Aug. 30.
Judge William Cotton, death of.—Sept. 13.
Panther and Captain Scott.—Sept. 20.
Public debt and resources of Indiana.—Sept. 20.
Indianapolis Female Institute.—Oct. 12.
Daviess, Joe H., sketch of.—Oct. 19.
Millenium (end of the world).—Oct. 26.
Scrip of the State.—Oct. 25.
Internal Improvment bill.—Oct. 26; Nov. 2.
Newspaper cash system.—Nov. 9.
Indians; old Thorntown.—Nov. 9.
Wabash river; navigation, etc.—Nov. 9.
Western emigration.—Nov. 15.
Thanksgiving Proclamation by Gov. Wallace.—Nov. 9; Nov. 13.
Wabash Canal.—Nov. 30.

1840—

- Harrison meeting, call of.—Feb. 1.
 Historical Society at Vincennes (ad. for material).—Feb.
 "Old Tippecanoe" (campaign story).—March 14.
 Boys' Seminary at Indianapolis.—March 28.
 Cumberland road, speech on.—March 28.
 "Old Tip" (story).—March 28.
 County convention, big one at Greensburg.—Apr. 4.
 Female Institute.—Apr. 11.
 Battleground convention proposed.—Apr. 11.
 Rally at Connersville.—Apr. 18.
 Battleground convention.—May 2.
 Meetings in various counties.—May 2.
 Cabin and cider fling, origin of.—May 9.
 "The Huge Paw" (song, over a sneer at the farmer's "paw."
 —May 16.
 Several songs.—May 16.
 Songs: "When this Old Hat was New," and "Tippecanoe
 and Tyler, Too."—May 23.
 Battleground convention (long account of).—June 6; also
 June 13.
 The "War in Greenfield."—June 20.
 Telling Chapman to "crow."—June 27.
 Rising Sun, population of.—Sept. 5.
 Big campaign meeting at Indianapolis.—Ad. of, Sept. 26;
 order of procession, Oct. 3; account of, 10; "O. K.," ex-
 pression used.—Nov. 14.
 W. W. Wick, poem on.—Dec. 5.
 (Notable absence of business advertisements this year.)

1841—

- Central canal; communications on.—June 26; Aug. 6.
 Hoosier story (specimen of vernacular).—Aug. 6.
 Richardville (Indian); death and wealth of.—Aug. 27.
 Indianapolis band.—Sept. 3.
 Jacob Cox (artist).—Sept. 10.
 Shower of "flesh and blood."—Sept. 17.
 Nativity of legislators, session of 1841.—Dec. 22.
 John B. Dillon, lecture by.—Dec. 22.
 Imprisonment for debt; law repealed.—Dec. 22.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

ACTION OF THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—LOCAL SOCIETIES.

In our last issue we presented a brief sketch of the Indiana Historical Society and discussed the question of an added field of work for it, suggesting that it should take the initiative toward establishing some relation between itself and the various organizations of a historical character, particularly the local societies. It was further suggested that one way of creating this relation might be by inviting the societies in question to send in reports, transmit copies of programs, etc., which the State Society, acting as a sort of bureau of information, would publish in an annual bulletin, furnishing the same to all the societies and thus stimulating all by a common interest.

This question, in substantially the same form as we outlined it, was brought before the State Society, and it was duly considered. It was thought that this magazine, occupying the field it does, would be a logical substitute for the proposed bulletin, and, in endorsement of the revised plan, it was, at a special meeting held April 26,

"Resolved, That for the purpose of announcements, reports of meetings and similar matters of public interest, the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History be recognized as the official organ of the Indiana Historical Society; and further,

"Resolved, That all the local historical societies of the State be requested to send announcements and reports of proceedings to the said Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, to the end that a speedy and convenient interchange of information be established among those interested in historical matters."

While this particular plan for promoting the work was not sought by us, we will say that we will be very glad to make the magazine an organ as proposed if the societies themselves will evince a desire to cooperate. The interest in the matter proposed will be confined almost exclusively to the societies, and the

presumption is that any organization that transmits its reports to be published along with those of other societies wish to preserve the same in its archives.

We heartily invite all historical organizations in the State send through their secretaries brief reports of the meetings of their work, past and present.

LOCAL SOCIETY WORK—COOPERATION AND TECHNICAL KNOWLEDGE NEEDED.

Editor Indiana Magazine of History.

DEAR SIR: In your last issue you invite opinions as to the the State Historical Society might render the local ones. I think that perhaps the most effective thing might be the establishment of a system of mutual interchange, not only of papers, addresses, documents and articles of interest and value; but also of speakers and specialists in the various branches of local history and historical research. It seems to me that an *esprit de corps* might be incited by such a movement that would be of great value to the progress and efficiency of the work of the various societies. In Henry county there seems to be now after more than twenty years of persistent effort on the part of the local society, a fairly good and liberal interest in the work manifested by intelligent and educated people of all callings and professions. What we need most is a class of willing workers who are thoroughly informed as to the best methods of collecting, arranging and presenting local historical and illustrative matter, in such manner as to make it most readily available to the student, the investigator or the citizen who may require such information at once to meet some urgent necessity. The willing workers we have, but we need the technical training, and I am sure that it is the most urgent need of our county and district societies. If the State might be induced to appropriate a small sum of money to procure the services of some qualified person to visit the various societies and give practical instructions on the subjects above indicated, it would greatly promote the present and future usefulness of their work, and make it much more interesting and far easier of execution. It is along such lines as I have suggested that cooperation might, as I think, be most helpful.

BENJ. S. PARKER.

New Castle, Ind.

LOCAL HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS—L. A. M'KNIGHT'S WORK.

Mr. L. A. McKnight, the superintendent of Benton county, Indiana, is working out in his schools an experiment in local history study which should be of interest to teachers and superintendents generally and to the friends of such study in particular. He has printed a little twelve-page pamphlet which he calls "Outline for the Study and Compilation of Local History, for the Use of Teachers, Pupils, Clubs and Students in History," and this presents a somewhat elaborate scheme by which this subject can be studied with interest and profit, as it seems to us, in any school or grade.

The plan contemplates, first of all, the selection by a school of a unit of study, and this unit "may be a county, civil or congressional township, town, school district, or any well-defined part of a county or township." The unit chosen, the historic elements to be dealt with are grouped as follows:

1. The Indians.
2. Favorable Conditions which Led to Settlement.
3. Settlement and Settlers.
4. Draw Map of Unit of Study.
5. Home Life.
6. Governing Life.
7. Industrial Life.
8. Social Life.
9. Religious Life.
10. Educational Life.
11. "For God and Home and Native Land," this last dealing with matters patriotic.

Under these various heads are worked out specific lines of investigation which may be flexibly adapted to the ages and capacities of the pupils. An examination of the plan in its details suggests a possibility of valuable training in various directions—in composition, in investigation and research, and in the development of a history interest quickened into a lively sense of the nearness and meaning of history. To satisfy ourselves on this point we wrote to Mr. McKnight requesting a statement as to the practical results of his work. The following letter from him answers the question:

Editor Indiana Magazine of History.

DEAR SIR: The results obtained from the use of my local history outlines have surpassed my expectations. The indications now are that I will receive fully 3000 pages of neatly written manuscripts from pupils in different parts of the county. When you remember that this work is *purely voluntary*, you may be able to conceive the interest that has been taken in it by

many pupils. It has also awakened many parents to the importance of the worthy work of investigating the history of their respective communities. The pupils follow up the work systematically, interviewing every one from whom they think they can obtain information, and classifying their information under the topical heads given in the outline. Complete and correct accounts of the history of many localities have been received. In some instances the pupils have entered into interesting correspondence with the pioneers who have become citizens of other States. Teachers say that the preparation of the manuscript has awakened an interest in the use of good language that did not formerly exist among their pupils. It has shown them the need of the ability to compose and write well.

Among the people the work is the talk of the county. When the outlines were sent out about the last of November, 1906, many of the pupils did not take up the work until after the holidays. A few general expressions received are as follow: "My boy was never interested in any kind of history until he took your outline. It is now his favorite study." "My daughter will hardly go to bed at night since she has begun her local history work. She wants to be interviewing some one about something all of the time." "I think this is the grandest work ever undertaken by our children. What made you think of it?" "Your outline has given grandpa a renewal of his youth. Every night he has from two to three callers and likes to have the young people come. One boy has come three times and is getting to be a fine reporter." "The boys of our town are delighted. You have shown them that they can be both makers and writers of history." "Our children want to know if you will not write a history of the United States from your outline. They think that kind of a history would be much better than the one they study." The ablest minister in the county writes: "I want to thank you for awakening in me a sense of duty toward the founders of my congregation's church." One township called all of the schools together and had a historic day at which the papers prepared by the pupils were read. Isn't this the first day of the kind ever had in Indiana? I send you press notices. There are other evidences of the interest awakened by this work that are too numerous to mention.

Yours very respectfully,

L. A. McKimray.

Adrian, May 1, 1907.

The lengthy notices in the Fowler papers sent by Mr. McKnight confirm his statement as to the lively interest shown in the community. It should be added that two songs by the superintendent, dedicated to Benton county, have been taken up with enthusiasm, the demand for copies exceeding the printed supply.

If any similar work is being done elsewhere in the State we would be glad to have a report of it.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

The Word Hoosier.—The latest publication of the Indiana Historical Society is a monograph on "The Word Hoosier," by Jacob Piatt Dunn, which is an unusually interesting and valuable contribution to historical and philological literature. This paper, originally published in the *Indianapolis News*, and reproduced in part in this magazine (see Vol. I, p. 86) here finds permanent lodgment in revised form. With the thoroughness that distinguishes him, Mr. Dunn seems to have fairly exhausted his subject, and his treatment of it is not only the first one worthy of mention but his conclusion will probably be the final one. The half-dozen or so stories that have long been current concerning the origin of the word "Hoosier" are, even in lieu of anything better, too crude for credence, and Mr. Dunn's study practically proves that it is not a chance word at all, but one with antecedents that, probably, reach far back in the English language; which was long used in the South to denote certain uncouth characteristics, and which was imported hither as descriptive of an element of our early population.

An appropriate companion sketch to the above is one of John Finley, included in the same pamphlet, by Mr. Finley's daughter, Mrs. Sarah A. Wrigley. Finley, for many years a prominent citizen of Richmond, Ind., introduced "Hoosier" into literature by his famous poem, "The Hoosier's Nest," first published in 1833. He was one of the most notable of early Indiana poets.

We venture to call attention to the abominable paper on which this pamphlet is printed. The printers of it have not even duplicated previous pamphlets, but have used the cheapest wood-pulp stock. The printing of matter of this sort on paper that will fall to pieces inside of a generation seems to us a grave mistake, to say the least.

Concerning Indians.—In the Indianapolis *Sunday Star* for 7 and April 28 and in the Indianapolis *News* for April 25 is published an interesting and spirited ethnological discussion concerning the Indians of the central west. The *Star* articles, was as editorials by Mr. J. P. Dunn, criticise the handbook of American Indians, recently issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology, and Mr. James Mooney, for the Bureau, replies. The argument, specifically, hinges upon the origin and meaning of certain Indian words, and, incidentally, upon the publication of the Bureau as relating to the aborigines above mentioned. Those interested in such questions will find these articles well worth securing and keeping.

John Flinn's Story.—The following account of John Flinn's captivity among the Indians was secured from Flinn's son Mr. M. G. Mock, of Muncie. It was sent to this magazine through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur W. Osborne, of Spiceland, Ind. Further matter touching this "Oldtown Hill" of the Delaware may be found in this magazine, Vol. I, p. 176.

"John Flinn was born in Green Brier county, Virginia, about 1780, and when five years old he, with his mother and sister, were captured by a band of Indians, whose tribe was located at Oldtown Hill (in Delaware county, near Muncie), where he was taken with his sister. His mother was slain. Flinn and his sister remained together for some years, when the French bought her of the Indians and gave her her freedom. She married a Mr. Bateral and once lived near New Castle, Ind.

"John Flinn remained with the Indians at Oldtown Hill until he was twenty-five, when he decided he would return to his people, who had moved near Springfield, O. Having remained with his people a year or so he returned to his tribe at Oldtown Hill. A young man having become a very warm friend of Flinn's, and being of a wild nature, went with him and expected to live there awhile with the Indians. But only a few months had passed when hostilities broke out between the whites and Indians, and councils of war were being held, and warriors were preparing for war.

"At a general council of the chiefs and warriors, Flinn and his friend being present, the question arose as to whether Flinn and his pale-faced friend had come to them as friends or spies.

"It was soon decided by the council that they had come as spies, and Flinn, knowing the fate of a spy, made a break for his life, followed by his friend.

"Following the west bank of White river, they had gone but a short distance, followed closely by the Indians, when they came to where crossed logs lay in the path.

"Flinn was able to scale them, but his friend failed to make the leap, fell back and was captured by his pursuers.

"The capture of his companion stopped the pursuit of Flinn and he made good his escape, and again returned to his people in Ohio, where he was married. He was afterward employed by the Governor and went as a scout and spy. Flinn's friend who was captured was burned at the stake, the spot still being marked by a stone which was placed where the stake stood when the early settlers came to Delaware county.

"The stake was taken up, split in pieces, some going to Washington, some to Philadelphia, and a piece was for a long time kept in the court-house of this county (Delaware)."

Education in Benton County.—A noteworthy contribution to Indiana's educational history is "Progress of Education in Benton County," a volume of 231 pages, by L. A. McKnight, the school superintendent of Benton county. This circumstantial study confined to one county has its particular value and might creditably be followed by the school authorities in other counties, paving the way to a fuller general history than has heretofore been possible. The idea of such a work in Benton county, we are told, was originally suggested by trustee John V. Bartoo, of Gilboa township, the County Board of Education thought well of it, and Superintendent McKnight was instructed to prepare a tentative outline, comprising information that in his judgment would be of popular interest and value. The result was this book, and the good judgment of its author and promoters has been proven by the fact that the demand for the work has far exceeded the edition of 2550 that was issued.

"Some Recollections of My Boyhood."—A little book privately printed, contains reminiscences of Wayne county seventy-five years ago. The writer, Mr. Branson L. Harris, undertook his modest work at the request of his sons for the dual purpose of

preserving to them these recollections and pleasantly fill his declining days, and in so occupying himself he was, less, wholly unconscious that he was investing his theme with a charm which might serve as a model of style in the schoolroom. Through this style, which is almost childlike in its simplicity, we not only get graphic and entertaining pictures of a life now obsolete, but with equal clearness stands out the picture of a plain, childlike, righteous man—a fine specimen of the Quaker stock that helped people our State. To our mind this little book is somewhat remarkable, and it is to be regretted that it will not have a wider circulation. Among the reminiscences are a number that, by their detailed description, are a real contribution to our recent literature.

Logansport History.—The *Logansport Journal* has been publishing, recently, many articles relating to the events, persons, and landmarks of Logansport. The author of these is Mr. S. Wright, who, being a native of Logansport and of a historical turn, is well qualified to work what is one of the richest fields historically, in northern Indiana. Mr. Wright was active in organizing the Cass County Historical Society, and he aptly argues that said society would do well to secure for itself, as an appropriate home, the old Biddle house, and there collect and preserve material that is lying at hand, and which will be scattered and wasted some time if the indifference of the past is not mended. The most notable private collection now in Logansport is that of C. B. Lasselle, which lies buried in dust in a room of the court-house. Whether this mass of material will be well and intelligently disposed of when Mr. Lasselle dies remains to be seen. If we are informed aright the opinion got abroad in Logansport a year or so ago that the Indiana State Library wished to "hog" the Lasselle collection, and that opinion seemed to awaken some hostility. We speak with authority when we say that the chief thought at the State Library was that the result of long years of labor should somewhere be preserved intact and not be dissipated and wasted. Since the Library can not have that privilege, it is sincerely to be hoped that the historical society at Logansport will see to it. The danger with most collections of this sort is that ultimately the more obvious-

ly valuable things will be appropriated by individuals, and that the things of less obvious value that are buried away in a mass of seeming rubbish will be deliberately carted off to the paper mill, as has been done time and again all over this State. So far as the real and larger value is concerned, things might almost as well go to the junk dealer as to the den of the private collector who hoards them up and hides them away in pure selfishness. More than seven years ago the present writer visited Mr. Lasselle and spent two or three days with him in his room looking in a cursory way over his papers. The impression then received was that much there that was of value to one historically interested would have no apparent value to one who lacked expert knowledge in this line. As we remember it, to go over the collection properly would take days, and the question naturally arises as to whether any one will have the time, patience and zeal to sort out the matter of value that may and probably does exist there.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The following is the list of subjects presented by the Monroe County Historical Society during the past year:

The University in the Later Fifties, by Hon. John C. Robinson; The Preservation of Local Historical Material, James A. Woodburn; The Old Monroe County Female Seminary, Amzi Atwater; The Monon Railroad, Carter Perring; The Beginning of the City Hospital, Mrs. Maude Showers; The Indianapolis Southern Railroad, Ira C. Batman; The History of Organized Charities in Bloomington, Mrs. Minnie B. Waldron; Company K, 14th Regiment Indiana Volunteers, Miss Mary Kelly; History of Bloomington Methodist Church, Mrs. Lena M. Beck; Monroe County Stone Quarries, W. B. Seward.

The May meeting of the Henry county society offered a program of eleven numbers, consisting of music, papers and other features, not forgetting a good, old-fashioned basket-picnic dinner between sessions. Among the numbers we find a "Symposium on Local History," ten-minute discussions; "Local Work in the Public Schools," by Supt. J. G. Wier; "The Irish in Henry County," by Miss Kate Finley; "The Possibilities of the County Historical Society," by Judge John M. Morris, and "The Importance of Local History," by Adolph Rogers.

LETTER ABOUT THE CONVENTION OF 1816.

A correspondent in the Vincennes *Western Sun* for J 1816, writes:

"The convention has determined by a majority of 33 to launch our political vessel of state, and, I am afraid, without a sufficient number of skilful navigators on board, and to manage the vessel in case of a storm—but with such an overwhelming majority in favor of State government, the must take it as a man takes his wife, 'for better, for worse with but this exception, a divorce can not be obtained.

"Great variety of opinions appears to exist among the members as to some of the most important points or features of constitution—what its general complexion eventually may be is at this time impossible to tell—but from the conflict of opinions, a model of perfection can not be expected."

COLD SUMMER OF 1816.

According to an anonymous writer, the year 1816 was phenomenally cold. "In many places," he says, "the trees and shrubs budded, but the frost soon nipped the buds and they dropped to the ground. June was no better. The thermometer registered as low as thirty all through that rosy month. One day in June snow fell to a depth of ten inches in Vermont, and nearly as deep in other New England States. Ice formed in streams and ponds. Frost and ice prevailed all through July and August was, if possible, more cheerless than months already passed." The last month of summer, it is said, was ushered in bright and warm, but this was of short duration. On the 16th ice formed a quarter of an inch thick. There was deep snow throughout November, but December, strange to say, was the pleasantest month of the year. Corn raised in 1816 had to be used for seed in the spring of 1817, and was difficult to get, even at \$5 a bushel.

Butler College

Courses offered in Education, Philosophy, Ancient and Modern Languages, Sociology and Political Science, Mathematics and Astronomy, Chemistry, English Literature, History, Zoology, Botany, and Theology.

Excellent Library facilities.

Expenses moderate.

Summer session.

Do you want a college education? Send for information to

THOMAS C. HOWE, DEAN BUTLER COLLEGE

Irvington, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Established 1882

New Telephone 5123

C. PINGPANK

Dealer in

Rare and Antiquarian Books



SEND FOR CATALOGUES

Books of Value Bought, Sold and Exchanged

4 Pembroke Arcade, Indianapolis

RARE BOOKS

The following books, now privately owned, can be secured through this magazine. Prices and fuller particulars will be given on application. Those having rare books which they desire to dispose of are invited to communicate with us.

ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF INDIANA TERRITORY, 1811. Excellent condition. Flexible leather cover.

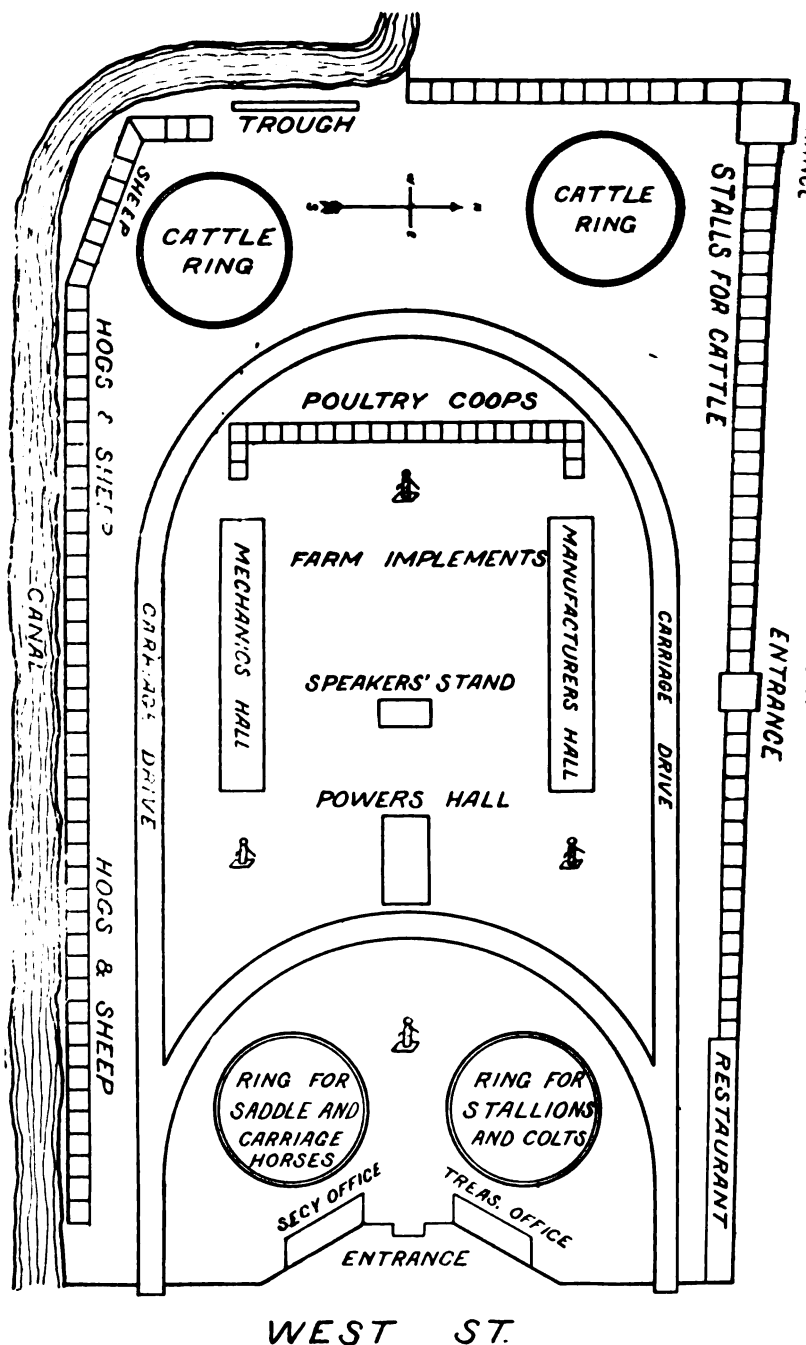
LAWS OF THE STATE OF INDIANA, 1818. Good condition. Flexible leather cover.

COBBETT'S "A YEAR'S RESIDENCE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA." 1818. Good condition, but needs rebinding.

WOOLLEN'S BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF EARLY INDIANA. The best book of Indiana biography, and a standard work. New. Price, \$1.75.

HOGARTH'S WORKS "from the original plates, restored, by James Heath, Esq., R. A., with the addition of many subjects not before collected; to which are prefixed a biographical essay on the genius and productions of Hogarth and explanations of the subjects of the plates by John Nichols, Esq., F. S. A. London: printed for Baldwin and Cradock, Paternaster Row, by G. Woodfall, Angel Court, Skinner Street." A beautiful copy; size, 20x26 inches. Price, \$50.00.

We can also secure, Morris Birkbeck's "Letters from the Illinois Territory," 1818; "Six Sketches on the History of Man," by Lord Kaimes, 1776; Reports of Adjutant-General W. H. H. Terrell (Ind. during Civil war); "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution"; Oliver H. Smith's "Early Trials and Sketches;" Dillon's "History of Indiana."



Plan of First State Fair Grounds—now Military Park, Indianapolis. See p. 144.

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Vol. III

SEPTEMBER, 1907

No. 3

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

NO. III—THE WABASH AND ERIE CANAL.

THE Wabash and Erie Canal, while identified with the State's internal improvement scheme of 1836, has a history that stands apart from that of the system. The actual beginning of this great waterway antedated the internal improvement law by four years, and it had its origin in Federal aid. The first conception of such a work dates so far back that it is a matter of speculation, for the benefits to be obtained were so obvious that, as one writer says, they must have been suggested to every traveler over the pass between the Wabash and Maumee rivers. The same natural advantages that brought the old French fur trade over this route pointed to the possibility of here connecting the waters of the lakes and the Mississippi. The Ordinance of 1787, Wayne's Indian treaty of 1795, and President Washington recognized the military and commercial value of the portage where Fort Wayne afterward grew up. A little later others began to entertain ideas of a canal there, and in 1818 Captain James Riley,* a government surveyor, who had been sent to make preliminary surveys of the region, developed and pushed this idea. A canal not exceeding six miles in length, over the old portage between the St. Mary's and Little rivers would, he thought, be an important step toward an uninterrupted navigation between the two water systems. His opinion as that of a practical engineer was of sufficient weight to command the attention of Congress, which went so far as to establish the feasibility of such a work by preliminary surveys. As the country was thrown open and the population began to crowd into the rich valley of the upper Wabash, the commercial demands for an outlet to the east became more imperative and there were repeated and growing demands for improve-

*An item in the *Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide* of August 31, 1824, makes this Captain Riley the mariner, once famous for his travels and adventures.

ment of the Wabash and its connection with the Ma Indiana itself was too poor to attempt such undertaking Congress was besieged with memorials and bills for grant greater or less magnitude. The fight for such grants was tinuous and increased in the scope of its demands. In Jonathan Jennings reported a bill "to authorize the Sta Indiana to open a canal through the public lands for the pur of connecting the Wabash and the Miami of Lake Erie." this called for was a right of way for the canal, but it generally regarded by the representatives from Indiana as entering wedge finally to secure a land grant from Congr Before final action on this bill, attempts were made to enla its scope, but it was finally passed in almost its original form. This left on the State the burden of constructing the canal, b with no fund for the purpose other than a wholly inadequate one derived from what was known as the three per cent. fund it was not much nearer to the accomplishment.

The concession gained simply lay fallow for two years while the general idea of Federal aid of internal improvements was making its way; then another bill was introduced asking for land grant to aid the proposed canal in Indiana. Meanwhile the idea of the magnitude of the work had grown. In the debates upon the subject there seems to have been no fixed opinion as to the length the canal was to be. One had it the original portage connection of six or seven miles, another extended the canal to the Little Wabash, twenty-five miles below; others to the mouth of the Tippecanoe river, one hundred miles down the Wabash. Mr. Hendricks, the leading supporter of the bill, and Senator from Indiana, probably expressing the sentiment, of the canal's friends, was of the opinion that the canal should extend fifty miles, to the mouth of the Mississinaway river.† In support of the bill the commercial benefits to the western country generally were dwelt upon, and the most was made of the value to the United States of a military highway into the northwestern possessions, the need of which had been demonstrated in the war of 1812. The bill in a modified form

*This was three per cent. of the net proceeds from the public lands, allowed to the State for internal improvements.

†"The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest," by Elbert Jay Benton.

was passed March 2, 1827, and granted to the State of Indiana every alternate section of land, equal to five miles in width for six miles on both sides of the proposed line and throughout its whole length, for the purpose of constructing a canal from the head of the navigation on the Wabash at the mouth of the Tippecanoe river to the foot of the Maumee rapids. This gift amounted to 3200 acres for every one of the 213 miles of the proposed work. Indiana, accepting the conditions of the grant, took steps toward the work, but considerable time was spent in discussing the thing to be done (some, even at this time, leaning to the idea of a railroad), and in organizing; and not until February 22, 1832, was the first ground broken. This occurred at Ft. Wayne and was made a notable public occasion.* The first contracts were let in the following June; the first division of the work, of thirty-two miles, was completed in 1856, and on the fourth of July of that year the first canal boat, the "Indiana," passed through to Huntington. Progressing westward as funds permitted, one after another of the Wabash towns borrowed life and growth from its vitalizing touch. Wabash and Peru were reached in 1837, Logansport in 1838, Tippecanoe River in 1841 and Lafayette in 1843.

Meanwhile an eastern division of the canal, from the State line to the Maumee Bay, had been completed by Ohio, and with this completion by the two States there was opened up the largest continuous line of artificial water communication in the world.

With the adoption of an internal improvement system by the

*"The birthday of Washington had been selected as an auspicious time for the beginning, and by order of the Board of Canal Commissioners, J. Vigus, Esq., was authorized to procure the necessary tools and assistance and repair to the most convenient point on the St. Joseph feeder-line at two o'clock on that day for the purpose named. A public meeting was called at the Masonic hall and was attended by all prominent citizens, not only of Ft. Wayne, but of the Wabash and Maumee valleys. Henry Rudisille was chairman and David H. Cole-rick secretary. A procession was formed and proceeded across the St. Mary's river to the point selected. A circle was formed and the commissioners and orator took the stand. Hon. Charles W. Ewing then delivered an appropriate address and was followed by Commissioner Vigus. The latter, after adverting to the difficulties and embarrassments which had beset the undertaking and referring to the importance of the work and the advantages which would be realized, concluded by saying: 'I am now about to commence the Wabash and Erie canal, in the name and by the authority of the State of Indiana.' He then struck a spade into the ground and the assembled gentlemen cheered. Judge Hanna and Captain Murray, two of the able advocates of the canal, next approached and commenced an indiscriminate digging, and the procession then marched back to town"—Valley of the Upper Maumee River, v. II, p. 20.

State, the Wabash and Erie enterprise was merged with the general scheme, of which it was the main artery, and after abandonment of the other works it was still retained by the State, it then being a source of revenue and having the grants behind it, though still an unprofitable holding. In 1837 at the instance of the State's creditors, through Charles B. Smith, their attorney, it, with its tolls and unsold lands, was transferred to them in part payment of the internal improvement debt. A part of the stipulation was that out of the sale of these lands the new holders should complete the canal to the Ohio river. The property was put into the hands of three trustees, two appointed by the creditors and one by the State, and its subsequent history until the final closing up of its affairs in 1876 of itself makes a long and complicated story. The creditors fulfilled their part of the contract to extend the canal, reaching Evansville in 1853,* but the lower or southern division was the least successful part of the work. In fact, the innovation that within a few years was to make canals a thing of the past—the railroads, sounded the death-knell of the old Wabash and Erie soon after it passed from the hands of the State. In the early fifties a railroad was constructed from Toledo, O., westward, along the side of the canal, while others from New Albany northward through Crawfordsville and Lafayette, opened up a formidable competition along the whole route. While Benton gives the "heyday of the canal" as the period from 1840 to 1856, yet the high tide of tolls and rents (\$193,400.18) was in 1852, and "from that time the income steadily decreased." Traffic was deflected to the newer, swifter and more reliable method of transportation, confidence in the future of the canal waned, money ceased to be invested in boat-building and investments in canal-property were withdrawn. By 1854 "bulky goods, like corn, iron and lumber—articles which paid light tolls—constituted its main traffic,"† while the better-paying exports all went to the railroads; and to add to this curtailment, the imports caught by the canal dwindled away almost wholly; boats that carried the bulky products eastward were forced to return empty, and the passenger carriage which had been a valuable

*The canal was then 459½ miles in length.

†Benton, p. 79.

part of the business, dropped off altogether. In spite of the reduction of tolls for the encouragement of shippers, the tonnage steadily declined till the competition with the railroads became hopeless. By various makeshifts, that had in them the flavor of desperation, traffic on the ditch continued to exist after a fashion, until in the seventies it was wholly abandoned, the court ordered the sale of the canal, the right of way and lands went to speculators and the old waterway, famous in our history, fell into ruin. To-day, over part of the old route, lie side by side the river, the dry and half-obliterated canal bed, a railroad and an electric line, representatives of four distinct epochs in commerce and transportation—the more and the less remote pasts, the present and a dawning future.

The Wabash Canal, while short-lived and a failure as measured by the sanguine hopes that promoted the enterprise, was in its brief day a most important and interesting factor in the development of the Wabash Valley. As it crawled westward successive towns along the route hailed its arrival with jubilant demonstrations and other towns sprang up in anticipation of its benefits. It brought into the valley a new life and energy, both commercial and social. "The abundant agricultural wealth of the Wabash country now found comparatively cheap and easy transportation directly to the East; the regions north and south for a distance of fifty to one hundred miles gravitated to this outlet, and from the Illinois country westward to Lafayette came flocking the great prairie schooners laden with their contributions to the world's marts.* Westward, in turn, came the capacious freight boats laden with merchandise of all kinds, and the packets with emigrants who, now having access to this land of promise, came in an uninterrupted stream, adding to the new currents of life. Towns along the river which heretofore could have only a broken and restricted intercourse with each other, were now regularly connected, and traveling was made possible to the multitude. And it was idyllic and picturesque traveling. People spent leisurely hours, sitting in pleasant

*Old settlers tell of long trains of wagons waiting by the hour at these rising commercial centers for their turns to unload the product of the farms, bound to the eastern markets. Four hundred wagons unloading in Lafayette during a single day of 1844 were counted by one of the pioneers. Another, speaking of the business at Wabash, says it was a common occurrence to see as many as four or five hundred teams in that place in a single day, unloading grain to the canal.—Benton p. 101.

company on the decks or in the cabin of the smoothly gliding packets. Passengers got acquainted and fraternized, played games and discoursed, and, when the boat was delayed, it was quite common for congenial groups to step off and stroll ahead, gathering wild flowers as they went. The speed of the best packets was six or eight miles an hour and one writer gave us a picture of the swaggering driver in a slouch hat and boots, lashing his team to a trot.* On approaching a landing there was a great blowing of horns from the deck, and when the dock was made everybody went ashore to mingle with the townspeople, to ask and to answer innumerable questions. When the boat was ready to go, a horn was blown again to warn the passengers aboard, and on they fared to the next stopping place.

Merchants went by packet to the eastern cities for their goods. Ft. Wayne, Huntington, Wabash, Peru, Logansport, Delphi, Pittsburg and Lafayette attained a substantial commercial importance. Elevators rose and factories multiplied. Mills secured power from the water stored to feed the canal, and cargoes of flour moved eastward continually.† The canal made possible the increase of the population by enabling the settlers to find markets for their surplus products, and obviously, because of this rapid increase of a rural population, agricultural conditions were vitally affected. It has been asserted that there was no agriculture in the country before the construction of the canal. All evidence shows that it was, at least, conducted on a small scale. Where formerly production was limited to supplying home consumption, it now began to send its products to eastern States. Larger farms took the place of the small clearings. Lands that before were not considered worth cultivation were now cleared, drained and brought into use. The increased area included in a single farm and the ready sale at the enhanced prices of its products led to the introduction of improved machinery. * * * In 1844 there was shipped out of Toledo, coming from the Maumee and Wabash valleys, 5262 bushels of corn. Two years later this output increased a hundredfold, and in five years more it amounted to 2,775,149 bushels.‡ Other industries

*Valley of the Maumee, p. 17.

†Leroy Armstrong in *Lafayette Journal*, September 10, 1899. A very graphic and interesting article on the Wabash and Erie Canal.

‡Benton.

were promoted, and the annual report of the trustees for the year 1851 speaks of nine flouring-mills, eight saw-mills, three paper-mills, eight carding- and fulling-mills, two oil-mills and one iron establishment, as being furnished water-power from the canal, and in addition to these were many other mills, elevators, foundries and warehouses scattered all along the route not using canal water for power, but there, nevertheless, because of the canal. Industries dealing with raw material were also developed. The canal ran through a heavily forested tract and at once became the highway for handling firewood. Similarly the manufacture and shipping of lumber was begun and maintained for a long time on an enormous scale, while the quarrying of stone and the manufacture of lime became prominent sources of wealth. In conclusion, it was estimated by Chief Engineer Jesse L. Williams that thirty-eight counties in Indiana and nearly nine counties in Illinois, including an approximate area of 22,000 square miles, were directly affected by the canal. The same is affirmed of all the counties in northwestern Ohio.

In this connection, the stimulating effect of transportation service upon contiguous territory is pointed out by Mr. Benton, who cites Noble and Huntington counties as typical cases. Huntington was a canal county. Noble was not, but offered far better natural advantages. For the year 1840 to 1850 the rate of increase in Noble was 190 per cent., while in Huntington it was 397 per cent. And this, Mr. Benton adds, "is to be regarded as an extremely conservative case."

Another thing to be noticed is the effect of the canal on the equalization of prices. After its opening, farmers who had been selling wheat for forty-five cents per bushel and buying salt at nine dollars per barrel received for their wheat one dollar per bushel and got salt for less than four dollars a barrel. "Illustrations," our author says, "might readily be multiplied."

NOTE—For further information touching the history of the Wabash Canal and its commercial and social influences in the settlement of the northwest, the reader is referred to Mr. Benton's admirable thesis as preeminently the best treatment of the subject that has yet appeared.

THE WHITEWATER CANAL

BY JAMES M. MILLER.

[For an article on the Richmond and Brookville canal by James Miller, together with a brief sketch of the writer, see this magazine, I, p. 189.]

The rapidly increasing settlement of the Whitewater valley and the remarkable fertility of the soil caused an increased demand for a market for the products of the farms, and as early as 1822 or 1823 a convention of delegates from Randolph, Wayne, Union, Fayette, Franklin and Dearborn counties, Indiana, assembled at Harrison, O., to consider the practicability of constructing a canal down the valley. The prime mover was Augustus Jocelyn, a minister of the gospel who edited and published the *Western Agriculturist* at Brookville, and through his paper worked up quite an interest in behalf of the improvement of the valley. Shortly after the convention was held Colonel Shriver, of the United States army, began a survey for a canal and got as far down the valley as Garrison's creek, where the survey was brought to a sudden close by the death of the colonel. The suspension was of short duration, for Colonel Stansbury, United States civil engineer, soon completed it. Nothing seems to have been done until February of 1834, when the Legislature directed the canal commissioners to employ competent engineers, and "early the ensuing summer survey to locate a canal from a point at or near the mouth of Nettle creek, in Wayne county, to Lawrenceburg, Ind." Accordingly, William Goodin was employed as engineer-in-chief and Jesse L. Williams assistant engineer. During its construction and existence there were employed as assistant engineers Simpson Talbot, Elisha Long, John H. Farquhar, Martin Crowell, Henry C. Moore, Stephen D. Wright, Dewey and John Shank. The canal was first located on the west side of the river as far as Laurel, where it crossed to the east and continued down to the gravel bank just above Brookville, where it recrossed to the west bank and proceeded on to Lawrenceburg, but was afterward located on the east bank from Laurel to its terminus.

Strange as it may seem, this great and badly needed improvement was bitterly opposed by some and every obstruction thrown in the way of the enterprise that could be, the opposition being led by Charles Hutchens, a Kentuckian, who resided for many years in Brookville, and during his residence edited several papers.

A meeting was called to assemble at the court-house in Brookville at 2 o'clock p. m., December 25, 1834, to consider the propriety of constructing a canal from the forks of Blue creek to its mouth. It was proposed to connect with the Whitewater canal near the mouth of the creek, and it was thought that Congress would donate the contiguous land. The call closes with the following postscript: "While we are borrowing money to build the Whitewater canal, let's borrow a little more to build the Blue Creek." This was done by the opponents of the Whitewater, as the proposed canal would only have been four miles in length. January 5, 1835, the engineer reported the survey completed. The length of the canal was seventy-six miles, with a fall of 491 feet from its head at Nettle creek to its terminus at Lawrenceburg, requiring fifty-five locks and seven dams, the latter varying in height from two to eight feet. The estimated cost per mile was \$14,908, or \$1,142,126 for the entire canal. In June of that year General Amaziah Morgan, of Rush county, was appointed a commissioner to receive stone, timber, or the conveyance of land to the canal to aid in constructing it. Owing to the hills in southern Indiana, it was deemed best to cross the line at Harrison creek and locate about eight miles of the canal in Hamilton county, Ohio, recrossing into Indiana and continuing to Lawrenceburg. As it was necessary to have the consent of Ohio to construct the portion running through her territory, the Legislature of Indiana authorized the Governor to obtain Ohio's permission, and Governor Noble appointed O. H. Smith a commissioner, who proceeded to Columbus, O., and January 30, 1835, presented Indiana's request. This was bitterly opposed, and the petition refused on the grounds that it was against Ohio's interest to grant it, as the Whitewater canal would run parallel to the Miami at a distance of from twenty to fifty miles from it, and that the products of Wayne, Union and part of Fayette and Franklin counties, Indiana, were taken to

Hamilton and shipped to Cincinnati on the **Miami canal**. Ohio granted the request, she would lose that tonnage; refusal only served to put Indiana on her mettle, and the eyes soon learned that when "the Hoosiers will they" that's the end on't," for the Legislature immediately in the Board of Internal Improvements, should Ohio per her refusal, to construct a railroad on the Indiana side State line from Harrison to Lawrenceburg. This, with influence of Cincinnati, whose people quickly realized what result would be to them if the commerce of the valley were Lawrenceburg, hastily changed the mind of Ohio's Legislature and the petition was granted. One enthusiastic advocate of the Whitewater canal, in the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* September 8, 1836, earnestly and persistently urged Cincinnati to borrow half a million dollars to aid in constructing the canal and Miami railroad. Early in January of 1836 the champion of the Whitewater canal in the Indiana Legislature, Enoch Carty in the Senate and Caleb Smith and Mark Crum in the House, had the pleasing satisfaction of seeing their labors crowned with success by the passing of the internal improvement bill.

Tuesday January 9, 1836, was a gala day in Brookville, for that day the news that the internal improvement bill had passed both houses of the Legislature was received, and in the evening the event was celebrated with speaking by prominent men, all buildings, public and private, being illuminated, and long rows of lights placed on the fences along Meirs street. A long procession was formed under command of Colonel B. S. Noble and Captain Dodd, and, amid the ringing of bells, beating of drums and roaring of cannon, marched through the streets to the inspiring strains of a band of music. The demonstrations continued until after midnight, when the citizens retired to their homes, but the cannon boomed till daylight. Of all who took part in the demonstration there are, perhaps, living only Rev. T. A. Goodwin,* Thomas Pursel, Jackson Lynn and W. W. Butler*, of Indianapolis; Dr. Cornelius Cain, of Clarksburg, Ind.; Jonathan Cain, of Connersville, and Eli Cain and Dr. Thomas Colewcott, of Brookville, who participated in the demonstration.

*Since deceased, as are, doubtless, some of the others. This article was written in 1898.

September 13, 1836, the ceremony of "breaking ground" and letting of the contracts for the construction of the canal from Brookville to Lawrenceburg was celebrated at Brookville by a grand barbecue and every expression of rejoicing possible. The orator of the day was Governor Noah Noble. The other speakers were ex-Governors James B. Ray and David Wallace; Hon. George H. Dunn, of Lawrenceburg, and Dr. Daniel Drake, of Cincinnati. Quite a number of speeches were made and toasts offered, the following being offered by John Finley, editor of the *Richmond Palladium*:

"There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet
As that vale where the branches of Whitewater meet;
Oh! The last picayune shall depart from my fob,
Ere the east and the west forks relinquish the job."

A pick, shovel and wheelbarrow had been provided for the occasion, and at the close of the speaking and reading of the toasts one of the speakers seized the pick and loosened the ground for a few feet, another trundled the wheelbarrow to the loosened earth, another took the shovel and filled the wheelbarrow and ex-Governor Wallace trundled it a short distance and dumped it, and "ground was broken" for the Whitewater canal. On this day, September 13, 1836, contracts were let for the construction of the canal to the following parties: William Carr, Joel Wilcox, Zephaniah Reed, William Rhubottom, Joel Palmer, R. & T. Freeman, — Westerfield, Benjamin M. Remy, George Heimer, Moses Kelley, William Marshall, N. Hammond, William M. McCarty, Isaac Van Horn, H. Simonton, William Garrison, Paren & Kyle, Carmichael & Barwick, Gibbons & Williams, Halstead & Parker, Naylor, Troxall & Co., D. Barnham & Co., Scott & Butt, H. Lasure & Co., Vance, Caldwell & Co., Tyner, Whipple & Co. and C. J. Meeks.

The State pushed the work, and in November of 1837 Joel Wilcox, the contractor for building the bridge and dam across the east fork of the Whitewater below Brookville, completed the latter and water was let in the first mile of the canal. According to the report of the Board of Internal Improvements for that year, there had been employed between Lawrenceburg and Brookville nine of that board, one engineer-in-chief, one secre-

tary, twelve resident engineers, seven senior and eleven assistant engineers and twenty-four rodmen. One of the men was the venerable George W. Julian, now a resident of Indianapolis, and who a few years later took such an active part in national affairs. Also twenty axmen and 975 laborers, the latter receiving \$18 per month.

The White bridge, as it is called, was finished by the steam tractor in September of 1838, the west side of it being used as a towpath. It is 392 feet long and cost \$14,000. The locks were either named for some prominent person engaged in constructing the canal or for the town where they were located. They were Marshall's, Fox's, Trenton, Berwise's, Rhubottom, Cedar Grove, guard lock at Case's, Wiley's (two), Tynah, guard lock below Brookville, Brookville at the basin, Reeds, just above the depot, Boundary Hill, Yellow Bank, Twin locks, Gordon's, Metamora, Murray's, Ferris's, Jenks's, Laurel, J. Rick's, Garrison's creek, Conwell's, Limpus's, Berlin, Nulltown, Updegraff's, Herron's, Conwell's, Mill lock, Triple locks, Claypool's, Carmen's, Fourmile, Swamp Level, Milton and Lockport (two).

The first boat to reach Brookville from Lawrenceburg was the Ben Franklin, owned by Long & Westerfield and commanded by General Elisha Long. It arrived June 8, 1839, and was drawn by hand from below town up to its landing. The estimated cost of the canal from Hagerstown to Lawrenceburg was \$1,567,470, and to construct it to Brookville had cost \$664,660. The State debt had become so large she could not pay the interest, and the canal was sold in 1842 to Henry S. Vallette, a wealthy Cincinnati, who proceeded to complete it. In November of 1843 the first boat, the Native, in charge of Captain Crary, reached Laurel at dark with a grand excursion from Brookville. During the night the bank burst and left the excursionists eight miles above Brookville to walk home. In June of 1845 the canal reached Connersville. The first boat to arrive at Herron's lock was the Banner. The following October the canal reached Cambridge City and had cost the company \$473,000. In 1846 it was completed to Hagerstown, and according to the report of the Auditor of the State for 1848, had cost the State \$1,092,175.13. In January of 1847 a flood destroyed the

aqueducts at Laurel and this side of Cambridge City and cut channels around the feeder dams at Cass's (now Cooley's Station), Brookville, Laurel, Connersville and Cambridge City. The damage was estimated to be \$90,000, and \$70,000, was expended during the summer in repairs. The following November there was another flood that destroyed all that had been done and \$80,000 more was expended, leaving \$30,000 of repairs undone, and the canal was not ready for use until September of 1848. Disaster followed disaster, the cost of maintaining it exceeding the revenue until the summer of 1862, when it was sold at the court-house door in Brookville by the United States marshal to H. C. Lord, president of the I. & C. Railroad, for \$63,000, that being the amount of the judgment. The railroad had long desired to secure the canal from Harrison to Cincinnati, so it could lay its track through the tunnel and thus gain an entrance to the city and the use of the Whitewater basin for a depot. This sale, for some reason, was set aside, although the railroad held that portion of the canal and used it as I have stated, but on December 5, 1865, C. C. Binckley (now Judge Binckley, of Richmond, and State senator from Wayne county), president of the Whitewater Valley Canal Company, sold it to H. C. Lord, president of the Whitewater Valley Railroad Company, for \$137,348.12.

The last boat that ran from Cincinnati to Brookville was the Favorite, owned and run by Captain Aaron C. Miller, at present a resident of Brookville. I have obtained the names of the following persons who are still residents of the county who helped build the canal: James Derbyshire, Jonathan Banes, William Carr, Peter D. Pelsor, Isaac K. Lee, John McKeown, Josiah McCafferty and Jacob Harvey.

In 1836 Ohio began to consider the propriety of constructing a branch from Harrison to Cincinnati, and in February of 1837 decided to build it, the estimated cost being between \$300,000 and \$400,000. In May following the books were opened at the office of the Ohio Insurance Company, in Cincinnati, for the sale of stock in the Whitewater canal. Ohio took \$150,000 and Cincinnati \$200,000, leaving \$100,000 unsold. In February of 1838 M. T. Williams advertised in the *Cincinnati Gazette* for proposals for constructing culverts over Mill creek, Bold Face, Rapid

run and Muddy creek, also for an aqueduct at Dry Forks lift and guard lock at the State line and a tunnel through ridge that separates the great Miami and Ohio rivers at Bend. In April of 1838 an excursion left Cincinnati on steamboat Mosselle for General Harrison's farm at North Bend to witness the ceremony of "breaking ground" for the Cincinnati branch. In 1838 it was proposed to unite the Central canal with the Whitewater and three routes were surveyed. Starting at or near Muncietown the first intersected the Whitewater at Milton and was thirty-three miles in length. The second short distance this side of that place, was thirty-seven miles long. The third, three and a half miles below Milton, was twenty-two miles long. After a thorough examination of the country and ascertaining the amount of water that could be depended on, it was deemed impracticable and the project abandoned. In January of 1839 contracts for constructing forty sections of the canal, averaging one half-mile each, between Harrisburg and Cincinnati, were let. The locks on this portion were Miami or Cleves, Dry Fork, Green's, Godley's and Cooper's. Though the work progressed slowly, but perhaps as rapidly as could be expected, and in 1845 the branch was completed and direct communication by the Whitewater canal between Brookville and Cincinnati was established.

The first warehouse erected on the Whitewater canal basin in Cincinnati was built by Stephen D. Coffin and Hadley D. Johnson, of this place, and the first boatload of flour shipped down the canal to Cincinnati was consigned to Mr. Johnson and he sold it in that city. The first boat completed at the Rochester (now Cedar Grove) boat-yard of Messrs. T. Moore, U. Kendall, G. B. Child and S. D. Coffin was a packet called the Native, and with Stephen D. Coffin as master arrived in Brookville July 3, 1839, and the next day took a merry party of excursionists to Cass's dam, three and a half miles below town, one of the excursionists being a "truant schoolboy" who in after years filled a very important place in State and national affairs, made General Grant an excellent postmaster-general and is at present filling an important position in Washington City. The Native made regular trips between Brookville and Lawrenceburg, leaving the former at 6:30 a. m. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, ar-

living at the latter place the same evening, and on the return leaving Lawrenceburg at 6:30 a. m. on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, arriving at Brookville the same day. The fare was \$1.25 and \$1.50, the State receiving 37½ cents out of each fare.

With all its defects, the canal greatly aided in developing and making the Whitewater valley what it is to-day, one of the prettiest and most desirable places on earth for a home.

JAMES M. MILLER.

Brookville, Ind.

THE CENTRAL CANAL.

[From an interview with Gen. T. A. Morris, engineer, in 1898.]

THE Central canal, of which the piece from Indianapolis to Broad Ripple was the only completed portion, was a part of the system adopted by the Indiana Board of Internal Improvements in 1836. The Central canal was to run from Wabash, by way of Anderson and Indianapolis, to Evansville. Work on the canal was begun in 1837 and prosecuted up to 1838.

"During that time the part between Broad Ripple and Indianapolis was completed. A good deal of heavy work was also done on the canal between Indianapolis and Wabashtown, much of it about Anderson. The canal was almost completed from Indianapolis to the bluffs of White river, and a small amount of work was done between the bluffs and Evansville, when the Board of Internal Improvements failed, overwhelmed with debt. The board required the unfinished work to be measured, and the contractors were allowed what was due them for the work already done. As there was no money to make such payment, the Legislature had authorized the issue of scrip, and this was paid to the contractors.

"Some time after that the Legislature authorized the sale of the Central canal to outside parties. Alexander Morrison and myself were appointed commissioners to value the property, which was to be sold at our valuation. It was sold to parties in New York. Those persons disposed of it to a company formed here. The present Indianapolis Water Company is a successor of that company, and now owns the canal, having bought it more than twenty years ago.

"I located the line of this canal, laid it off and superintended the construction. I surveyed the line from Wabash to Martinsville. It went through a rather rough country, I camped out for six months, but came into town for Christmas. Many a morning we had to shake the snow off ourselves as we got up.

"There were forests and thickets and a great deal of swampy ground. There was a big swamp a mile or so south of Ellettsville which contained water nearly all the year, and was a great feeding place for wild ducks. There was another swamp southeast of this, near Hiram Bacon's place on Noblesville road, west to the river. Remains of the former swamp still exist. I have had some good sport shooting snipe and ducks there.

"North of Indianapolis, along Fall creek, was a swampy place with a greater or less depth of water. It was at one time noted for its big pickerel. I have also shot snipes there. The place is now built up, and is called Lincoln Park."

The General said that in Madison and Grant counties the surveyor's work was especially hard because of the swampy nature of much of the ground, and that the surveyor had to be an expert in jumping, as he made his way by springing from hummock to hummock. There was one place in Madison county where the engineers desired to unite two streams. They anticipated some difficulty in doing this, but when they came to the spot agreed on for the dam, they found that the beavers had long before built a dam at that very spot and accomplished the purpose the engineers had in view, so they simply laid their line across the dam made by the beavers.

FIRST OLD SETTLERS' MEETING.

In a previous issue [Vol. II, No. 1] we noticed what we then thought the first old settlers' meeting ever held in Indiana. This was in Wayne county, in 1854. In the *Madison Daily Banner* of January 29, 1852, we find an account of the organization of the first settlers of the city of Madison, to be composed of those who were residing in the county since 1820.

THE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT SYSTEM OF INDIANA.

INDIANA'S great scheme for internal improvement which went into active operation with the famous internal improvement law of 1836, has, so far as our published histories show, never received more than superficial consideration. A thorough study of it, of the spirit that begot it and the lessons taught by its economic fallacies would, indeed, make a chapter of some magnitude, and an inviting field still remains open for some ambitious scholar to gather the substance and meaning of it into an elaborate thesis. Thus far, Elbert Jay Benton, in his "Wabash Trade Route," which has been cited in our previous article, has, perhaps, got the most out of it. This brief study claims to be little more than an outline, which may be of interest in connection with other articles of our series.

The internal improvement movement, as taken up by the State, can be better understood when we remember that it was but part of a more general one that swept over the country, and which had been gathering force for years. The situation in the United States was, perhaps, analagous to none other in the world at that day—a vast interior, still new and in the rough, predestined by climate, soil and natural resources to high development, and occupied by a race of boundless energy thoroughly bent upon progress. Almost with the founding of the nation the needs of transportation and the desirableness of facilitating it by government aid was agitated; and as population spread, forming sections, the needs became more imperative, both commercially and politically. There was a strong advocacy of federal aid. In 1806 the Cumberland or National road, to penetrate the West, was projected, and a year or two later Albert Gallatin, as Secretary of the Treasury, laid before Congress an elaborate scheme for federal works, consisting of roads, canals and river improvements. His suggestions were not carried out, but the fact that he had been instructed to prepare a report on the subject was significant.

But such aid as the general government rendered was insig-

nificant compared with the growing needs of the private enterprise likewise failed to keep pace with those of the State. The idea of State paternalism naturally grew up as a promising means to the desired end.

As early as 1812 the legislature of New York voted millions of dollars toward a canal to connect the waters of Hudson and the lakes, and though the war with England following soon after, put a quietus upon the proceedings, a few years later saw the completion of the canal, to serve thereafter as an object lesson to others. About the same period Pennsylvania appropriated thousands of dollars toward various improvements; Virginia, North Carolina, alarmed by wholesale emigration to the borders to the valleys of the Ohio and Tennessee, and to their insufficient transportation facilities, and sought to remedy it by State aid, and these were but the earlier movements which took possession of the country at large. Pikes, canals, navigable rivers, and a little later, railroads, things that people must have, and whatever promised them made a strong bid for popular favor.

In the light of this prevailing and growing idea, it is not surprising that the citizens of Indiana, concerned by the difficulties of their situation, should have fallen into the notion, and, beguiled by specious argument, undertaken a rash undertaking that afterward threatened the State's undoing. The sentiment within the State manifested in the Act of 1836, with its reckless appropriation for growth. "For a period of more than ten years the question of providing by law for the commencement of a State system of public works had been discussed before the people of Indiana by governors, legislators and distinguished private citizens. In his message of December 8, 1835, Governor Noble announced the first steps in most of the important works undertaken with opposition from those who entertain fears of taxation, bankruptcy and ruin, but of all the public works in other States are none that have been abandoned, or that have proved so burdensome or unpopular with the people, even under the same rate of taxation: on the contrary they have uniform

*Dillon p. 509.

sources of wealth and comfort, monuments of public spirit and enterprise, and objects of just pride and exaltation with the people. These triumphant successes have settled the question as to the practicability and utility of public works, and, encouraged by these examples, our citizens have manifested their willingness to enter with spirit upon a system that will contribute not less to their own prosperity than to the credit of the State."

The messages and addresses of Governors Hendricks, Ray and Noble (1822 to 1834) urged public works—the improvement of rivers and the construction of roads and canals. The financial success of such works in other States, particularly the Erie canal, in New York—where, according to the statement of Governor Marcy, of said State, the revenue from the canal would, within three years, more than pay off its cost—was often quoted. Ohio's canal system, also, had paid well, and facts and figures to prove the safeness of such investment were abundant. In a word, what the people needed the people would use when provided with it, and the returns from the tolls would take care of the necessary debt.

With the agitation public sentiment became educated to the idea, as is evidenced by the part the question came to play in politics. It became an issue in support of which politicians arrayed themselves, and not a few, among them James B. Ray, Governor from 1825 to 1831, may be said to have ridden into power on this wave.

In view of all the circumstances, the State, though it did the unwise thing, as the sequence proved, yet acted slowly, and not without prudence. The bill committing the State to the public works did not make its way through the legislature until preliminary surveys had been made, information made public and the will of the people determined by the ballot. "In 1836 the financial affairs of the country seemed to be in sound condition, and the minds of the people of Indiana were fully prepared to regard with favor the commencement of an extensive system of State internal improvements."* It was only a question of time till this tide must have its way and it issued eventually in an elaborate law of forty-four sections, providing for a system

*Dillon, p. 571.

of turnpikes, canals and railroads to touch and benefit all sections of the State:

1. The Whitewater Canal, extending down the valley of the Whitewater river to the Ohio and "above the National Road practicable;" also a connection by canal of the Whitewater and Central canals.

2. The Central Canal, to connect the State with the Ohio at Evansville, Vincennes and Indianapolis and down the river.

3. The extension of the Wabash Canal (encouragement had been under consideration for four years) from the Tippecanoe river down to Terre Haute, and thence, by a practicable route, with the Central.

4. A railroad from Madison through Columbus and Crawfordsville, to Lafayette.

5. A macadamized turnpike road from Vincennes by way of Greenville, Paoli, Mount Vernon and Lexington.

6. A railroad, if practicable, and if not, a turnpike, from Jeffersonville and New Albany to Columbus, of Salem, Bedford, Bloomington and Greenburg.

7. The removal of obstructions to navigation of the Wabash between its mouth and the State line.

The total length of these roads and canals was more than 1200 miles.* The appropriation was \$8,000,000, and the actual loan authorized by the State was \$10,000,000.

An eighth provision authorized a survey and, if practicable, if not, of a railroad, from Fort Wayne or near Ft. Wayne, to Lake Michigan at or near Chicago, by way of Goshen, South Bend, and, if practicable, to Chicago. The State pledged itself to construct this work.

The machinery essential to so great an undertaking, a Board of Internal Improvements and a corps of engineers were secured, and a large army of laborers were employed.

*W. H. Smith, History of Indiana.

roads that field. Through these experts and laborers the borrowed money found its way into circulation; prosperity instead of hard times "stared people in the face" and most of the people tending more than satisfied. It was believed that the revenues from the public works would fill the State treasury and simply sweep away with taxation, and the dream of opulent times snuffed out the enforced prudence of the normal business world and brought a burning fever for more gain. "A period of wild speculation ensued. Those who owned one farm bought others, and those who owned none went into debt and purchased one."* But though the improvement bill was "hailed by its friends as the dawning of a new era in the history of our legislation, essential to the prosperity of our people, and highly creditable to the character of Indiana,"† there was a minority who saw breakers ahead, and even among its ardent supporters there was not lacking those whose foresight and sagacity begot premonitions, as is shown by this excerpt from Governor Noble's message of December 5, 1836 (House Journal, 1836, p. 19): "There must," he says, "be foresight and stability in our legislation so as to continue and increase the confidence of the people at home, and maintain the just credit of the State abroad. Until our success is complete our duties will not terminate, and whilst indulging our fancies with the prospect of a bright future, it should not be forgotten that during the progress of every public work like ours there has been a financial pressure from which we can claim no exemption. An overflowing prosperity will follow profuse disbursements of the public funds. With its current we will all be swept along, and, seduced by the times, we will live high, purchase freely, contract debts and plunge into other extravagances at which our present notions of economy would revolt. And when these disbursements are reduced, when the heaviest demands are made upon us for the support of the Treasury, we shall have parted with the means placed in our hands. Such a state of things will hardly fail to bring upon us a pressure, and when the dark period arrives, there may be some so forgetful of its past benefits as to complain of the system."

*Smith, v. I, p. 280.

†Elbert Jay Benton's Wabash Trade Route, p. 54; quoted from *Lafayette Journal and Free Press* of January 29, 1856.

Despite these forebodings, however, the framer of the sage permitted himself to see only a bright and hopeful come, and he proceeded to point out the policy whereby would be thrown into the Treasury each year, not only a sufficient supply for the demands upon it, but a continuous hand balance that would prepare the State for any crisis.

But time proved the wisdom of the first and not of the second of these predictions. In a word, the sanguine hopes of friends of the great system were but short-lived, and so soon did adversity follow that three years after the public works began they were deliberately abandoned in the midst of construction and after an expenditure of something more than five and a half millions of dollars, for at least one and a half millions which there was no return. "The State abandoned outright three of its works: The Jeffersonville and Crawfordsville road, after expending \$339,183.18; the Lafayette and Indianapolis road, after expending \$73,142.87; the work on the Wabash railroads, after expending \$14,288.42. The Whitewater Canal, projected from Lawrenceburg to the mouth of Nettle creek, 76 miles, was completed for 31 miles between the Ohio river and Brookville. The work cost \$1,099,867. It was later completed by a private company and maintained in successful operation for some years. Rents and tolls had brought the State \$9,902.41. The northern division of the Central Canal was sold to private parties in 1850 and 1851. It had cost the State something over \$863,209.88. The State received in tolls and rent \$13,720.13. Similarly the Madison & Indianapolis railroad passed into private control after costing the State \$1,624,605.05, and returning \$63,182.32. No part of the Erie and Michigan canal was finished. A feeder and surveys cost the State \$156,324. The water power of the Northport feeder dam was available, and that was conveyed to Noble county for school purposes. On the Central Canal between Indianapolis and Evansville \$574,646.49 was expended, on the Cross Cut, \$436,189.88."*

This abandonment "caused wide-spread disaster, bankrupting most of the contractors and leaving hundreds and thousands of laborers without pay for the work they had done,"† and it left

*Benton.

†Smith.

the State under an enormous debt without the ability to pay even the accruing interest, which was honorably discharged only after years of financiering, and which all but resulted in the disgrace of repudiation.

The causes of this disastrous outcome were various. In part it is attributed to the financial distress that swept over the country in 1837. Another factor was unwise management. Instead of proceeding judiciously and slowly in the floating of bonds, and completing one work at a time, thus securing speedy returns from tolls, there was a politic attempt to satisfy the clamorous demands of the sections to be benefited and to supply them all at once with their canals, roads and railroads. Thus, to balance the vast expenditures there was no income, save a slight one from the Wabash Canal, which had previously reached a stage of service. "To add to the State's embarrassment, the price of labor, provisions and material increased the cost of the various works far above the original estimates," and yet again, bonds had been sold on credit, and, owing to the subsequent panic in the business world, sums amounting to more than three million dollars were a total loss. These and other causes that would seem to be inseparable from government paternalism* operated fatally. Some of the works, such as the Whitewater canal, the Madison railroad and some minor features of this system, were transferred to private companies that extended and operated them. The Wabash canal was for the time retained by the State. The utter loss of the work on the unopened canals may fairly be considered as due to the succeeding era of railroads which speedily made canal construction practically obsolete.

For the better part of a decade legislation in Indiana was fronted by the State's huge and steadily accruing debt, and the seeming impossibility of lifting the burden. The solution was made possible, eventually, by the creditors themselves. In 1845-'46 the population of the State was estimated at 800,000, the taxable property at \$118,500,000, the voters' poll-tax at \$124,000. The total debt per capita was a little over \$20, and the wealth per capita about \$140. For five years Indiana's bondholders had received no interest on their investments, the ultimate re-

*See Autobiography of Philip Mason, p. 172.

covery of the principal was a matter of serious doubt, and depreciated bonds were being quoted at 40 cents on the dollar. Among the bondholders were not only large capitalists but many persons of limited means that depended on their investments and were actual sufferers by the non-payment of the interest. Their straits demanded some remedy, if remedy was possible.

As an agent for these desperate creditors Charles Butler, a New York attorney, appeared at the legislative session of 1846 with a plan whereby the State might satisfy its bondholders. This plan which, in substance was eventually accepted, is embodied in the law known as the "Butler Bill" (General Laws 1846) and is to the effect that the bondholders should receive part payment of the debt the Wabash and Erie Canal, then under operation from Lafayette eastward, with its tolls and unsold lands. A part of the stipulation was that out of the sales of these lands the new owners should also complete the canal to Evansville. The property was put into the hands of the trustees appointed, two by the creditors and one by the State and with this transfer Indiana was happily rid of the most galling burden she has ever been saddled with.

G. S. C.*

OLD BLOCKHOUSE STILL STANDING.

According to a newspaper correspondent† there still stands a half-mile west of Petersburg, in Pike county, a blockhouse of the war of 1812. The accompanying picture shows it to be a large, two-story cabin of heavy logs and provided with portholes. It was occupied during the war by Hosea Smith and family, together with his neighbors, who came to it as a refuge.

*The unsigned article on the Wabash & Erie canal is also by the editor.

†*Indianapolis News*, March 9, 1907.

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

PAPER No. III.

Early Credit System and Scarcity of Money—The Backwoods Cabin and Its Construction—Improvements; the Hewed Log House—Capacity of the "Hoosier's Nest"—Household Equipment; Culinary Utensils; the Fireplace; "Reflector" and "Dutch Oven"; Home-Made Woodenware; the Gourd; Furniture; the Loom and the Spinning-Wheel.

THE first settlers of Henry county were, as a rule, poor people. After the young pioneer had paid for his half-quarter or quarter section of land at the government price of \$1.25 per acre, he seldom had any money left with which to improve it or for the support of his family, and credit was a necessity. Thus the county was literally cleared up and improved on credit. The conditions of the times begot this custom, and the merchants and other business men, perforce, gave credit freely, and these in return received from the great eastern houses long credit, their accounts sometimes being carried year after year. Notwithstanding delays in payment, however, little money was lost, for honesty of purpose was the rule then, and the pioneers paid their debts as faithfully and promptly as their accumulations would permit.

Under these circumstances it is obvious that the settler could enjoy few luxuries. Life was a struggle to discharge the obligations hanging over him and for the bare necessities. He and his family had in large measure to be self-supporting, in the matter of clothes as well as food, and all are familiar with the story of the spinning-wheel and the loom, and the home-made fabrics, as well as the table supplies wrung from the forest and the clearing.

The backwoods cabin was, perhaps, as primitive a structure as was ever adopted by a civilized people. John Finley, in his famous "Hoosier's Nest," describes it as

"A buckeye cabin,
Just big enough to hold Queen Mab in."

Finley's picture of this domicile, both inside and out, is true life, but it must be said that the "buckeye" cabin was hardly the typical one, as other logs, such as sugar-tree, beech, ash and poplar, being more durable, were generally used. Buckeye, however, being easily worked, sometimes served, and it is said that these, sending out sprouts during the first summer, would cover the walls with greenery, partially concealing the house amid the foliage of the woods. For these cabins, when of the most primitive form, the surrounding forest furnished practically everything. Logs of a uniform size, notched and saddled at the ends formed the walls, the openings being sawed out; long poles laid across from gable to gable served the purpose of both rafters and sheeting, and the clapboards, weighted down with other poles, made the sheltering roof. Logs hewed to an even surface formed the puncheon floor. The rude door, with its wooden latch, was hung on wooden hinges, and even the fireplace, a cavernous recess of smaller logs and rived slabs, lined "from the red clay on the hill," was fashioned from the material at hand.

A more specific description of some of these features of construction may be permissible. The opening for the fireplace, from five to ten feet wide, was sawed out of the wall, as were the windows and doors. From this opening outward was built an enclosure like a pen, of small, split logs, the outer ends notched and saddled, as were the corners of the cabin, and the inner ends secured to the ends of the house logs by pins driven in. Inside of this three-walled enclosure a similar temporary one was built with a space of twelve or fifteen inches between the two sets of walls, and into this space moist clay was firmly pounded and left to dry. When the false wall was removed or burned away this clay formed a protecting back and jambs for the fireplace, extending four or five feet up, and above this was constructed the chimney of rived sticks built up in a diminishing square and heavily plastered with clay. The hearth and bottom of the fireplace were made by filling in with clay to the level of the cabin floor and this was pounded with a maul until rendered hard and firm, then well wet with water and scraped to a smooth surface with a wooden scraper.

The chinks or spaces between the logs that formed the walls of the house were filled in with short sticks split to fit into the crevices as snugly as possible, and these were plastered over with tough clay or mortar, which shut out the weather very effectually. After the cabin was erected spaces were sawed out for doors and windows, and slabs secured to the ends of these sawed logs by wooden pins served at once to hold them in place and to make frames to the openings. To exclude the weather and admit light, the windows, before the introduction of glass, were covered by a sheet of paper stretched across and pasted to the frame and rendered semi-transparent by greasing. The doors were made of broad slabs fastened to cross battens by means of wooden pins. These battens were longer than the width of the door, the projecting ends being furnished with holes into which pins would set, and these pins were in other slabs or "heads" that were attached to the logs at the jamb of the door. The wooden latch was raised from the outside by a "latch-string" that passed through a small auger-hole and hung out. When this was drawn in the door was securely fastened.

These cabins, built entirely without the use of nails or any scrap of iron, were the most primitive of our backwoods domiciles. After the first years glass and other imported material became more or less common, and with the establishment of sawmills sawed boards took the place of hewed slabs. The next improvement in construction was the house of hewed logs. These, by comparison, presented quite a neat appearance, with their smooth walls and mortar daubing and with floors, frames and finishing of yellow poplar, and when of two or more rooms were considered particularly fine. They were sometimes of two stories, and the earlier taverns and business houses in the villages or on the principal highways were usually of this kind.

Some of these houses, while they would be considered small now, were regarded as spacious then, and indeed, their capacity for accommodation was something to be wondered at. The rearing in them of large families was the rule rather than the exception, and there was always room for friends and kinfolks. The taverns, by utilizing auxiliary space, were like the proverbial stage-coach, in which there is always room for one more. The late Mark L. Wilson kept a hewed log hotel a mile east of

the lids would sit in safely; the long-handled frying-pan, and the iron oven for baking pone. This latter was a vessel perhaps three or four inches deep, set on legs and provided with an iron lid turned up around the edge. In it the thick loaf of corn bread was baked by setting it on a bed of coals with more coals piled upon the lid. A thin, smooth board or broad wooden paddle for the hoecakes was also an essential, and sometimes long-handled waffle irons were part of the outfit. At a later date and with growing prosperity other cooking devices came into use. The "reflector" oven was considered a great invention. This utensil consisted of a light iron frame two to three feet in length, mounted upon short legs, to hold the baking and roasting pans. To the back part of this frame a flaring top was attached by hinges, so that it might be turned back when the cooking needed attention. The sides were also enclosed. This flaring top and sides, made of bright tin, presented a large opening toward the open fire which was supplemented by a bed of live coals drawn out upon the hearth, and from the hood, sides and back of tin the heat was reflected down upon the cooking. It served its purpose well, and surely no better bread, cakes or pies have ever been eaten anywhere than those our mothers used to bake in the old "reflectors" upon the hearth.

When the cook stove made its way into the early homes of the country it was hailed with delight by the majority of the pioneer women because it afforded such great relief to their faces, hands and arms that had been so continually blistered by the great open fires, but some adhered to the fireplace, the old utensils and the old culinary methods as long as they lived. A good many of the more prosperous families used the "Dutch ovens." These were made of small boulders or bricks and mortar, or else of tough clay, wrought and beaten into shape, and burned by slow fires built within. They were usually set upon wooden platforms aloof from the house, by reason of danger from fire, and were protected by a shed. They were principally used in the summer time. In appearance they were rounded domes, not unlike the old-fashioned beehive. The fire was built in them and then raked out and the baking set upon the floor, the body of the oven retaining enough heat to do the cooking.

The woodenware of the household was often made by the

pioneer himself. Trays, large and small, were of soft poplar, locusts and basswood, and these too most of the present-day tin and crockery-ware. Sometimes a mere trough and paddle. The home a solid beech or maple stump with a bowl-shaped in the top to hold the grain while being pounded, stump cut as smooth as possible made the chopp-stent. The rude trough hollowed out from a side half that was used to catch sap from the sugar-familiar relic from the olden time.

For drinking and dipping vessels the common a gourd—one of the most adaptable and convenient to man. In an age when manufactured conveniences to get the gourd was a boon, and in every cabin it a conspicuous part. Of many sizes and shapes, it properly scraped out and cleansed, a variety of hung as a dipper beside the spring or the well sweep, and in the same capacity it was a companion barrel and the whisky jug; it was used at the tab-kettle or at the sugar camp for soup, soap or sap; properly halved made a wash-pan or a milk-pan, or opening, it became a receptacle for the storing of a small one was used by the grandmother to dars socks over; the boy used one to carry his bait in w fishing and the baby used another for a rattle. treasure was the gourd, and it should be celebrated.

There were various curious articles used in the p that are now quite obsolete. One of these was the—a clumsy-looking wooden machine for kneadin dough. Another was a yoke that fitted across t with a thong hanging from either end whereby t water could be carried, leaving the hands free to ca if desired. Among the more well-to-do families, a date, perhaps, we find metal warming-pans whic live embers, were used to iron the sheets of a cold turns of perforated tin; big dog-irons presentin fronts of brass; tinder-boxes with their contents o little powder-horns and "punk" from rotten logs, the fires; turning-spits for the meat roasts; candl

balls of cotton wicking; long tin horns and conch shells to call the men to dinner, and many other conveniences now considered quaint and sought for relics.

As the country grew, many of the home-made articles were supplanted by the products of local artificers. The neighborhood potter supplied rude queensware, such as milk-pans, crocks, jars, jugs, pitchers, and even teapots. This ware was generally used in Henry county fifty or sixty years ago. The village cabinet-maker was an expert, as handsome specimens of his handicraft still to be found will testify. His chairs, cupboards, bureaus and sideboards were made to last as well as to sell, and the furniture put up by such artists in wood as John or Miles Heacock or Jacob Brennehan was good for generations. The writer knows of rockers in this county that have been in use for seventy-five years or more, and the old splint-bottomed chairs with woven seats of thin hickory strips are still to be found in country homes. Twisted corn-husks were also often woven into chair bottoms. Wild cherry, which was common, was a favorite wood for furniture, and those old cherry specimens of the local cabinet-makers' handiwork are still prized by collectors.

One important piece of pioneer furniture, if so it might be called, unknown to the modern household, was the loom, which in the days of home-made fabrics was almost indispensable. The space this ponderous machine occupied in a small cabin made it a serious incumbrance, and hence a period would be devoted to the family weaving, after which the loom could be taken apart and stowed away, unless, as sometimes happened, one had a separate loom-room. The excellence of the work done upon these rude, home-made implements is a matter for wonder now, as one examines preserved specimens. Not only have those blankets, jeans and various cloths a surpassing durability, but some fabrics, such as coverlets and curtains, exhibit a remarkable artistic taste and skill, both in the dyeing of the yarns and the weaving of complicated figures.

Complementary to the loom were the spinning-wheels—a big one for the wool and the familiar little one for the flax. The skilful use of these was a part of the education of every girl, and in the ears of many an old man and woman the resonant hum of it still lingers as the sweet music of a day that is past.

INDIANA.

[This poem is probably by Sarah T. Bolton, though not in collected works. It was first published in 1835 in the *Indiana* which paper was then edited by Nathaniel Bolton, husband of Sarah. This copy is from the *Republican and Banner*, of Madison, 1835.]

Home of my heart! thy shining sand,
Thy forests and thy streams,
Are beautiful as fairyland
Displayed in fancy's dreams.

Thy sons are brave and proud of thee,
Thy daughters fair and bright
As nature's flowers that carpet thee,
Or stars that gild thy night.

Hearts are thine, the kindest, best,
That heaven has given to earth,
And brilliant gems are on thy breast,
Of intellectual worth.

Free as thy sparkling waters
Is each heart that throbs in thee;
Save to heaven and thy fair daughters
None ever bow the knee.

Greatness of soul, true dignity,
And favored sons of fame
Are thine, but pride of ancestry
In thee is but a name.

Home of a thousand happy hearts,
Gem of the far wild west,
Ere long thy sciences and arts
Will gild the Union's crest.

Thy skies are bright, thy airs are bland,
Thy bosom broad and free;
We need not wave a magic wand
To know thy destiny.

Great spirits bled and, dying, gave
The stars and stripes to thee;
Thy sons would die that trust to save
In pristine purity.

S. T. B.

UNNAMED ANTI-SLAVERY HEROES OF OLD NEWPORT.

[A paper read by Dr. O. N. Huff, of Fountain City, at a meeting of the Wayne County Historical Society, September 23, 1905.]

A NUMBER of weeks ago I listened to a beautiful sermon delivered in this church, the minister using as a basis for her discourse the two words "and others."

The Apostle Paul in writing to the Hebrews enumerates the many great deeds of faith of the patriarchs and prophets, and then exclaims, "And what shall I more say, for the time would fail me to tell of Gideon and of Barak and of Samson and of Jephtha, of David also, and of Samuel and the prophets," who through faith did great and mighty things. "And others had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonments."

In recent accounts of anti-slavery days in Old Newport, which extended over a series of years, or until Abraham Lincoln with one stroke of his mighty pen broke the shackles from all slaves in the United States, everything centers around Levi Coffin, and other names are rarely mentioned. Newspaper correspondents come long distances to see the house in which he lived, and to get photographs of the same and write long articles of the brave and courageous things he did for the poor slaves seeking freedom. I would not for one moment lessen in the slightest degree the grand and noble work of Levi Coffin, but I would at least say, "and others," who for the sake of humanity "suffered cruel mockings, yea, moreover, bonds and imprisonments," and persecutions and religious ostracism. The work of helping fugitive slaves began very early in the history of the old town, but was not thoroughly organized until Levi Coffin took his position at the helm, and by his very prudence and boldness, gave confidence to all those disposed to engage in the dangerous work.

In the year of 1840 Arnold Buffum visited Newport in the interest of the anti-slavery cause. He was a Friend from Massachusetts—a man of great power and fine presence—and by his eloquent and persuasive speech did an immense service to the cause of abolitionism. Soon after this there began the organ-

ization of anti-slavery societies. The first State society held at Newport and was attended by delegates from various parts of the State. Daniel Worth was made president. A number of State societies were held at Newport and at Goshen, Henry county.

The interest grew in intensity. The advocates of emancipation of slaves became very bold in all they said and did, and opponents to the so-called abolitionists and their meeting were equally bold and unyielding. The church itself was shaken to its very foundation, and the climax finally came in the Yearly Meeting of 1842, when the meeting for sufferings reported eight of their number as disqualified to fill the stations then occupied in that body.

"Immediately after the last session of the yearly meeting a large number of anti-slavery Friends convened in the meeting house to confer upon the situation. Before they had opportunity to discuss the condition of affairs, John Maxwell walked in the ministers' gallery and in the name of the trustees demanded of those present that they immediately leave the house. He first called them Friends, then as if correcting himself, he said he did not know whether they were Friends or not; he would call them people. Another Friend then proposed that as they were so arbitrarily denied the use of the house for the purpose which brought them together, that they meet at Newport, nine miles north, the next morning at 9 o'clock. It was united with and the people retired. Next morning at 9 o'clock there was a large assembly gathered at Newport and continued in conference till 11 o'clock, when it adjourned till 2 o'clock to give place to the regular week-day meeting. From 2 o'clock this conference continued until near sunset.

"Entire harmony prevailed; the spirit of love and prayer overshadowed the meeting, under the influence of which devout supplication went up to the throne of mercy and grace for Divine counsel and aid in this hour of sore conflict."

From that hour on the public attention was called to Newport more than ever before as the center of the anti-slavery movement in this section of the country. Most of the citizens of the town of whatever denomination were in sympathy with the work, and under the perfected organization everything moved

along in excellent harmony for the care of the fugitive slaves. Levi Coffin could not have accomplished so much if there had not been so many faithful helpers. There were times when it was wiser and safer to divide the number of slaves until they could safely travel to the next station. It was often necessary to raise money for them, for there were unavoidable expenses. Oftentimes they were almost naked and shoeless, so that clothing and shoes had to be supplied. There was a sewing society organized where the good women met to prepare clothing for the fleeing fugitives. The trains bearing these fugitives nearly always traveled in the night, so wagons and horses had to be supplied, and reliable conductors who would safely pilot them to the next station. All these things could not be done by one man, and Levi Coffin was never hindered in his work by lack of efficient helpers. He aided many scores of slaves on to freedom, an average of about one hundred each year while he lived at Newport, and he left the place and the work with great reluctance, but was finally persuaded to go to Cincinnati in 1847 to take charge of the wholesale store in that city, which kept only goods produced by free labor.

This was fifteen years before the emancipation proclamation, yet the work went right on at Newport during all those years, and no slave was ever turned away. "I was an hungered and ye fed me, naked and ye clothed me, homeless and ye took me in."

A number of free colored people of Old Newport were quite active and reliable in caring for the fugitives and for any service in their power to give. Chief among them were William Bush, William Davidson, Douglas White and James Benson, but a number of others were equally ready to lend a helping hand. I have been told William Bush was the chosen captain of the forces organized to meet the famous Kentuckians who threatened to burn the town and other dreadful things. While these Kentuckians were in the center of town and trying to gather some clew to their missing slaves, they offended a colored man by the name of Cal Thomas who had a gun on his shoulder, and he declared he would shoot and shoot to kill, but he was quieted and led away.

Eli Osborn, a friend who was always active in the anti-slavery

cause, was standing by and he told the Southerners that not believe in fighting, but if they would get down off horses he would be glad to play a game of marbles with Eli Osborn a number of times harbored slaves in his home in his work of hauling between Cincinnati and Newport, had opportunities of carrying the escaping fugitives in his wagon. Linden Osborn, his son, who is still a living citizen of Fourteen City, tells of aiding from southwestern Ohio to Newport the famous slave, John White, of whom Levi Coffin writes in his book. And this was not all that Linden Osborn did.

Perhaps the man who next to Levi Coffin did the most in directly aiding fugitive slaves previous to and after 1847 was William Hough, who lived just across the creek where Elwood Blyden now resides. Time and again did he care for fleeing slaves and contribute liberally of his money in aid of the work. His daughter, Mary H. Goddard, writes me that she well remembers the morning when her two older sisters prepared breakfast for seventeen runaway slaves. Levi Coffin speaks in his book of William Hough's house as a "noted stopping place on the underground railroad." His daughter speaks of the time when a number of Kentuckians came with a search warrant to search her father's house. "It was a bright moonlight night," she says, "and the moon could be seen very plainly. The man with the search warrant read it aloud. We listened and heard father say: 'Now, I can tell thee, thee will not find thy darkey, for he is not here in my house, but thee may look all thee wants to.' So then, brother Daniel went with the old gentleman all over the house, carrying the light. When they came to the attic over the old kitchen my brother opened the little attic door and said: 'Here is where we keep our runaway darkies, but there are none in there to night,' when the old gentleman put in his head, looking all around. Then, when they came to our bedroom door he was going to come in, but brother Daniel said: 'This is my mother's bedroom. You can't go in there.' And the old man replied: 'Maybe he is under the bed.' This was the last of the search warrant, and father again said to him: 'Didn't I tell thee he was not here?'"

Mrs. Goddard says they were in search at this time for the famous Louis Talbert, the slave who escaped from the South

and afterward made a number of trips back to the South and piloted many away from the land of bondage to freedom. He was finally captured at Indianapolis, then on his way South to make another effort to lead others from slavery to a free country. His old master was glad to capture him, and declared he would make an example of him, for he said "Talbert had led away \$37,000 worth of slave property." His mistress plead so earnestly for him that he was only punished by being sold into slavery farther south, where it would be much more difficult to escape. On the way down the Mississippi river he leaped from the boat and made his escape in the darkness, and after many trials and hardships he again came in the night to William Hough's house. His daughter says: "I remember so well one night we heard some one hallooing at the north side of the house, and my father said: 'Who is there?' And he answered: 'Louis Talbert.' He then told us how his mistress begged for his life and of the final decision that he must be sold into the market farther south. I saw him once after I went to Cincinnati to teach," she continues. "He came to the Franklin-street school to see my brother. After this we never heard of him again, supposing they had caught and killed or sold him."

At one time or other Louis Talbert attended school at the Union Literary Seminary, which was taught for many years by Ebenezer Tucker, a prominent educator and anti-slavery man. In his history of Randolph county he speaks of the times the Kentuckians were after Talbert. He says: "The hunters came to Richmond, got assistance, and sixteen men came in the night on horseback to Newport. Louis had been there but had left. They found no fugitives. Three men started at midnight on foot to come to the institute to tell Louis to get out of the way. They came just at daylight and asked: 'Is Louis Talbert here?' 'No, why?' 'If he is, he must make himself scarce; they are after him; sixteen men came into Newport last night and will be right up here.' Louis had 'vamoosed' already. They did not come after him or find him anywhere else." Tucker further says that after Talbert was captured at Indianapolis and his friends supposed he was done for, it was just six weeks from that date, "his black face popped in at the door of the institute." "Why, Louis, we thought you down in New Orleans by

this time." "Oh, no. I was never born to be a river."

Daniel Hough, son of William, in a letter written in 1874, says: "One time I conducted one or sixteen runaway slaves to Winchester and out to Winchester," and he also remembered "some very interesting ways and their stories." The daughter says: "I remember an old slave woman who slept with the hogs to keep them warm who afterward came to my father's house. I remember the meeting of Henry and his family, a runaway slave and he stayed at my father's house until he was free, came on. They met upstairs in our mother was upstairs when they met. I remember to know if she saw them. She said: 'No, I look the other way.'"

William Hough's father, Jonathan Hough, and Hiram, Levi and Moses, were all active in the cause. Jonathan lived with the youngest son, Moses, and family, and fugitives were repeatedly cared for in his house. Jonathan Hough was one of the early promoters of the settlement of New Garden township, and entered the farms where William E. Elliott and his family now live. Israel Hough lived just north of William's house was searched also by the noted Kentucky slave hunter.

Benjamin Thomas was a true and tried hero in the eyes of the colored race. His home was always welcome to the black man and many were made to feel that "a white man was a friend indeed." It was Benjamin Thomas who gave 100 acres of land northeast of Spartansburg for the establishment of a school for the education of the colored people. The Union Literary Seminary referred to in this paper was the free colored pupils, Mr. Tucker says as many as 100 fugitive slaves attended the school at one time. William Hough, now living in Fountain City, tells of conducting and hiding seven "runaways" from Newport to the home of Benjamin Thomas.

Daniel Puckett, Dr. Henry H. Way and Benjamin Thomas were three very prominent characters in those stirring days of Old Newport. They were three of the eight who

ified by the meeting for sufferings in Indiana Yearly Meeting of 1842 for the active part they took in the abolishment of human slavery. They were each always ready with voice or pen or personal deeds to do whatever lay in their power to promote the interests of the fleeing fugitives or in arousing a public sentiment against the curse of human bondage. Daniel Puckett was a minister in the Society of Friends. Dr. Way was a practicing physician and was many times called upon for professional services to those seeking freedom who by great exposure and fatigue became ill or disabled in any way. He was a brave and true man, a fine debater and true counselor. Benjamin Stanton was editor of *The Free Labor Advocate*, whose pen was ever ready in favor of justice and human rights. They were all prominent in the separation which took place in the Society of Friends because of slavery, and Benjamin Stanton was clerk of the first yearly meeting held by anti-slavery Friends. Daniel Puckett accompanied Arnold Buffum to some of the neighboring meetings when he was speaking for the formation of anti-slavery societies, and Jonathan Hough went with him to Winchester and other places in Randolph county.

Dr. Hiram Bennett was a man of fine ability, who gave up his profession to accept the position of lecturer for the first anti-slavery society formed in the State, at a salary of \$500 a year. He was an excellent speaker and traveled over a large territory, and, like all speakers against slavery, suffered much persecution and opposition.

When Levi Coffin was summoned before the grand jury at Centerville, where he gave answers which are so often quoted, he was accompanied by Dr. Henry Way, Samuel Nixon and Robert Green, who had been called for the same purpose, namely, to convict them, if possible, of aiding escaping slaves. Samuel Nixon kept a public house a number of years and often had as guests the men who were in search of runaway slaves, yet he did much in the cause of freedom and against slavery. Like many other members of the Society of Friends who left the South to escape the influences of slavery, he left the State of Virginia in 1827 or 1828 and settled in New Garden township, and a little later in Newport. Robert Green was a good man who was always ready for any service in his power to give. Samuel Charles

was another prominent Friend who was proscribed by the so-called, but he always remained true to his convictions in interests of human freedom. Harvey Davis, Harmon Clark, William R. Williams and Jonathan Unthank were among the number who were relied upon for help for these destitute people receive them into their homes, or with horses and wagons conductors, pilot them to a nearer station to the land of freedom and each no doubt could have told thrilling incidents that were a part of their own experiences.

And what shall we say of all the good women who were ready to get up at any time of night to receive these unfortunate people into their homes; oftentimes destitute of sufficient clothing, possibly wet and covered with mud, hungry, and occasionally sick or injured. Think you it did not require a deep conviction of duty and a heroic courage to meet such additional labors their already full household cares? Nothing less than love, justice and pity and sympathy for the oppressed (the mother's heart often appealed to) could win such sacrificing labor under such adverse circumstances. Their names should be placed on the honored rolls of those who stood true in the cause of human liberty.

There was an organization of young men who obligated themselves for certain duties in aid of the colored people. They sometimes would hire speakers. Another duty which must have required much fortitude was to take regular turns and ride to the "settlement" beyond Spartansburg to teach in the Sabbath school. Among their number were Zeri and Moses Hough, Daniel and Jesse Hill, Thomas and Isaac Woodard, Ira Marine, Calvin Thomas, Daniel Thomas and others.

John Lacey was another reliable worker, and his son, William Lacey, did more than any one was ever able to find out. He belonged to a sort of secret service who patrolled the banks of the Ohio river watching for escaping slaves and directing them to places of safety. He was the man who assisted Eliza Harris, of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," up the bank of the river near Ripley, Ohio, after crossing it in midwinter with her child, on the floating cakes of ice. He confided to a very few how he watched with thrilling interest her dash for liberty on the Kentucky side with her pursuers in hot chase after her. When she reached the

river she hesitated, for it seemed hopeless, but when she realized that she was certain to be captured and separated from her child she clasped her boy more closely and leaped upon a cake of floating ice, and from that on to another, and another, and another. At times she seemed to be sinking and appeared as though she must be lost, but she would place her boy on the nearest floating ice and drag herself onto the same, and with renewed courage continued her daring escape, while Lacey on one side and her would-be captors on the other side watched her with dazed interest and consternation. Finally, with both her and her child nearly frozen, their clothing wet to the skin with the ice-cold water, and almost exhausted, she reached the Ohio side and was assisted up the bank by William Lacey and directed to a place of safety and protection. In her farther flight to Canada she was shifted from the Sandusky line to the Indiana line, which passed through Newport, and she was at the home of Levi Coffin a number of days. Her name will live for centuries in the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the man who assisted her up the river bank at Ripley was at one time a resident of Old Newport.

To still further bear testimony against the traffic in human slavery, many of these good people decided that they could not use the products of slave labor and maintain consciences void of offense, so there were established "free-labor stores" or depots where such goods could be obtained. This was the cause of Levi Coffin going to Cincinnati in 1847. He was chosen to manage the wholesale or distributing store for free-labor merchandise. The store at Newport was kept by Joel Parker, an active anti-slavery man. These goods were necessarily more expensive and oftentimes not so attractive, but that did not prevent these heroes of human liberty from bearing testimony against the degrading influence of slavery.

Nathan Thomas, son of Benjamin Thomas, made several trips to the South in search of cotton, sugar and other products that were not produced by slave labor. He was a prudent but valiant worker in the anti-slavery organization. His wife was the widow of Zeno Reynolds. Her name before marriage was Williams, and she was one of the first teachers in the school established for colored people by the gift of Benjamin Thomas.

After Levi Coffin removed to Cincinnati he frequently sent

"runaways" by the Newport route through West E points in Union county. At one time he brought carriage two valuable slaves, John and Mary. At D south of Richmond, he overtook four other slaves w ed from Cincinnati two nights before, but they had so rapidly, moving along at night. From Daniel came on to Newport in broad daylight, much to James Haworth, for Coffin had urged Haworth to riage ready and drive with him to Newport, for th ten on because such valuable property would soon b sought for. When they drew near Richmond, Haw ed that they pass around the city, because then, as not fully alive to public duty, and could hardly be they came near to Moffitt's mill on the east fork of which was run at that time by Benjamin Fulghum Kenworthy, they saw these two men with others a the mill. When they got opposite, Coffin sang out his voice the words of an old anti-slavery song:

"Ho! the car Emancipation,
Moves majestic through the nation."

The men stopped work to cheer the train on its rived safely at Newport, Coffin, with John and Ma at the home of my father, Daniel Huff, while Hawo four moved on to William Hough's, just over the latter were in greater danger of pursuit, and they w on by the Greenville route, and John and Mary a the Winchester route.

There is still one other prominent worker that I m Pusey Graves was a very brilliant and earnest man in early life to make speeches against slavery and g in the cause, and at the time James G. Birney was for President, Pusey Graves was a candidate for Cor same ticket. I can not do better than to quote a let two days ago from his son, Charles B. Graves, who of the judges on the Supreme bench in the State of I says:

"My father, Pusey Graves, was a very enthusiast anti-slavery man. In his young days he attracted

tion by making anti-slavery speeches on the streets of Richmond. During the year when a candidate for Congress for the district of which Wayne county was then a part, on the ticket with James G. Birney for President, he made a very active campaign and was greeted with stale eggs several times. I have heard my mother tell of the condition of his clothes when he came home. He also traveled over the southern part of Indiana with a colored man named Lester, an ex-slave, whom father taught to read. This colored man was a great natural orator and made impressive and eloquent addresses.

"My father's home was a well-known stopping-place on the underground railroad. Fugitives often stopped there while we lived in Newport. Many passed through our house, and when I was a boy there some colored person was being taught to read whenever opportunity offered. When the notorious slave-hunting posse came to Newport four of the fugitives slept in my father's house, and afterward were employed by him to cut and rive "cooper stuff" out in the woods about three miles northeast of town, where they camped until the excitement died out. Pusey Graves and Dr. Stanton, I think, and perhaps others, bought a printing press, wrote articles and set type at night and printed an anti-slavery paper for some time, but of course they could not keep it up. We kept a copy of the paper until he returned from California, and I think he sent it to the Indiana State Historical Society. These are only a few of the events which I remember and have received as a part of the history of the family. My mother's father, John Mitchell, was on the road often with his team carrying fugitives north. Levi Coffin was a leader among the abolitionists, and they relied upon him for advice and cooperation, and like all leaders he was accredited with not only his own acts, but with much that justly belonged to others. While he was a great power and deserves much credit, still there are others, who, in a more humble way, did actual personal service and gave relief to fugitives that would, if known, compare favorably with the work of this great leader."

FIRST STATE FAIR IN INDIANA.

INDIANA'S first fair was held in Indianapolis, October 1852, on the old military reservation, west of West street, known as Military Park. It was largely through the effort and influence of Joseph A. Wright, then governor of the State, that the institution was brought into being, and the hearty response when the movement was once under way showed that the time was right for the focussing of the State's industries.

The newspapers, which at that day reviewed local affairs sparingly, devoted an unusual amount of space to advertising the fair both before and during its progress, and the following extract from an editorial shows the hopeful enthusiasm that greeted the occasion:

"A just pride in the utility and greatness of their pursuits will be generally infused among our farmers, mechanics and manufacturers. Standards of excellence in stock, of utility in machines, and of true taste in the elegant articles of comfort and luxury will be fixed in the minds of all. Progress in their respective pursuits will take the place of indifference in their minds. A laudable ambition to have the mantel decorated with a silver cup will actuate all, and thus feeling and acting, who can calculate the ultimate result?"

The people responded no less enthusiastically. By that time railroad communication was established to Madison, Terre Haute, Lafayette and Peru, and with the eastern counties by the Bellefontaine and Indiana Central (Panhandle) roads. These admitted of easy access to the capital from the various sections of the State. Half rates were given; the plank roads let animals pass free of toll, and the exhibits and the crowds came.

There were 1365 entries, with quite a showing of improved agricultural machinery. Among the greatest curiosities of the time were three sewing-machines (the Home, Wilson, and Singer). There was much live stock exhibited, especially hogs, sheep and cattle, and of the latter the Durham were by all odds the most in evidence. By reason of this feature the attendance was augmented by many stockmen from Kentucky. According

to the report of one paper, there were about 15,000 visitors the first day; on the second 25,000, and on Thursday, the third day, there were more people in town than the grounds could hold, and the other shows outside caught the overflow.

Among other features there was an address on Thursday delivered by John B. Dillon, the historian; and Friday and Saturday plowing matches were held out on Calvin Fletcher's farm. The gate receipts at twenty cents a head, for the five days of the fair amounted to something over \$4,600, which, according to the local papers, not only defrayed expenses but allowed the return of \$2,000 that had been borrowed of the State.

Altogether it was undoubtedly the liveliest week Indianapolis had ever known. In anticipation of the unusual crowds, side shows, great and small, flocked hither, all eager to catch the surplus Hoosier small change. The "Yankee" Robinson's "Athenæum," otherwise vaudeville troupe, gave three performances daily in a tent near the fair grounds, and Wells' Minstrels lured the crowds with time-honored jokes and burnt cork. A man named Diehl put up what he advertised as an "enormous pavilion" near the State House, where he let off fireworks a la Pain of modern pyrotechnic fame.

Toward the last came P. T. Barnum's Museum and Menagerie. Then there was a "grand exhibition of the World's Fair"—a reproduction by illuminated views of the famous Crystal Palace exposition; "Beard's Hoosier Panorama of 'Paradise Lost'," at one of the churches, and divers other catch-pennies.

Added to all this the Democrats had a big torch-light procession which was to close with speaking at the Wright House where the New York store now stands. The Whigs, however, objecting to the Democratic program, gathered in numbers to howl down the speakers, and pandemonium resulted. Out of this affair a difficulty sprang up between George G. Dunn and W. A. Gorman which all but resulted in a duel.

The original intention, out of deference to the other leading towns of the State, was to shift the fair from place to place, giving Indianapolis every third year. In accordance with this idea Lafayette had it in 1853 and Madison in 1854, but this plan proved financially disastrous, and it was finally decided to hold it permanently at Indianapolis.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

INDIANA ARCHIVES.

A Department of Archives in connection with the library, for which a limited appropriation was made a year ago, has at length become a reality, though its full realization, we believe, has not yet been established. Prof. H. A. Harlan, of Earlham College, in whose hands the work has been placed, has spent the summer collecting and organizing the various features of Professor Lindley's plan that call for attention. They are (1) the discovery and purchase, for the library, of historical material; and, (2) the locating of material in the State that can not be purchased, and at least the preparation of an intelligent bibliography of the same, so that a staff may be sent through the library as a bureau of information to keep track of as wide a range as possible of documents on any given subject. The need of something of this kind is felt by all who have attempted to write in Indiana history, and it is felt with any thoroughness. Only such knowledge of the extent and chaotic character of much of the material in the State's important phases of our history, and will hail any new department to add to that material. We await with interest the establishment of the archives department.

STATE HOUSE DOCUMENTS.

For many years there has been stored in the State House a great mass of books and papers, the business of the auditor's office from the beginning of the State, recently been overhauled, sorted and put in order, with the result that many documents of decided value have been unearthed. Prominent among these are the records of the various land offices of the State, the records of the State office being especially full. A particularly noteworthy feature is the unpublished Journal of the territorial House of Representatives of 1813, and this borrows further interest from the fact that it was the year of the removal of the territorial

Vincennes. Few particulars, in our published records, are given of that removal. These old records disclose, among other things, that one argument for the removal was the unsafe situation of Vincennes in view of the hostile disposition of the Indians and the necessity of removing the seat of government "to a place where the Archives of State and the claims of individuals should not be endangered." In pursuance of a resolution that the capital "be removed from Vincennes to some convenient place in said Territory," we further find that Lawrenceburgh, Madison, Vevay, Charleston, Jeffersonville, Clarksville and Corydon all advanced their claims to the distinction of which Vincennes was to be shorn. Madison in particular, under the wing of William McFarland, set forth her advantages in a stiff argument, backing the same by the offer of a thousand-dollar bonus.

CENTRAL OHIO VALLEY HISTORY CONFERENCE.

With a view to promoting throughout the central Ohio valley a wider interest in local history than now exists, our Ohio friends have taken the initiative and set on foot a plan for a history conference to be held in Cincinnati on November 29 and 30, 1907. Some twelve organizations of Cincinnati, representing history, archæology and kindred interests, are back of this. The aim is to reach out over the territory named and enlist the cooperation of teachers of history, specialists in local history, members of patriotic organizations, etc. Out of it, it is hoped, will come some permanent cooperation among the various historical societies of the Ohio valley. At this writing the program can not be fully and accurately given, but Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, and Professor J. A. James, of the Northwestern University, will be the principal speakers. The former will discuss "Local History Societies," and the latter "The Teacher of the Social Sciences." Professor James's paper will be discussed by Professor S. B. Harding, of Indiana University, Dr. B. L. Jones, of the Louisville Manual Training High School, and Professor C. L. Martzoff, of Ohio University. These, respectively, will represent the university, the secondary schools and the grades. Other addresses will be on The Unpublished Collections of the Ohio Valley; Historical and Quasi-historical Literature of the Ohio Valley; Local Historical Periodicals of the Ohio Valley, Past and Present; Po-

sible Methods of Cooperation; State Aid in Local and the Historical Work of State Librarians.

LOCAL HISTORY CONTRIBUTIONS.

Clay County Canal War.—Captain T. M. Rober Indiana, sends us a copy of the *Brasil Daily Tin* 21, 1907, containing an interesting account of trouble between citizens of Clay county and the canal. This article, signed "M. Artz," is said to hitherto unpublished. We regret that we have no number to reprint it, and may do so at another instance it relates that the canal company, at a health, maintained near the present town of Salin known as Birch Creek reservoir, which covered sand acres. Protests being unavailing, in 1854 the and feeder-dam were repeatedly cut, letting out stopping navigation. Governor Wright offered a perpetrators, only to be ridiculed; the militia and the trouble was long after known as the "E

Early Muncie Letters.—The *Muncie Sunday Star* 1907, publishes more than three columns of old local considerable local interest. These were written Blount, of Muncie, and extend in time from 1826 to letters, well-written, sprightly and gossipy, reading and give graphic and intimate pictures of town" and its surroundings.

Historical Sketches of Cass County.—In our last is a series of articles by W. S. Wright, on the early Logansport and Cass county, that have been running *port Journal*. Since then we are in receipt of a circularing that these sketches, along with papers that before the Historical Society of Logansport, have by Mr. Wright (who is secretary of the society) in hundred pages, covering a wide variety of then early Cass county, such as Pioneer Days; Indian Mexican, Civil and Spanish Wars; School and Churches the Old Swimmin' Holes; Bands of Other Days; Transportation and Early Families. The volume in \$1.50 of W. S. Wright, Logansport, Ind.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. III

DECEMBER, 1907

No. 4

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS IN INDIANA.

NO. IV—RAILROADS.

THE railroad in Indiana and the part it has played in the development of the commonwealth might well afford material for a volume. Here we can not pretend to more than a brief outline sketch, but in that sketch we shall attempt to touch upon the various phases of development in their due relations and make obvious the vast importance of this factor in transportation.

MOVEMENTS PRELIMINARY TO THE RAILROAD ERA.

The steam railroad in the United States, in its first crude, experimental status, was about five years old when the spreading interest becomes traceable in Indiana. The startling proposition that the ancient difficulties of transportation by land could be vastly lightened by a mechanical force, born of simple fire and water, that should convey great loads at an unheard-of speed, did not convince the conservatives as to its practicability, and it required something like courage to exploit it. One of our first men publicly to advocate it was Governor James B. Ray, who, along with his many curious aberrations, seems to have been gifted with real insight and prevision. As early as 1827 he advanced an argument for railways as against canals, and even advocated a line from Lawrenceburgh up the White-water valley to connect with the National Road. In his legislative message of 1830 he suggested the union of the lakes with the Ohio river by the grand scheme of a railroad from Detroit river across Michigan to Lake Michigan, thence, by way of Indianapolis, to the Ohio; and he further pointed out that the terminus at Louisville of the Lexington & Ohio railroad, which was then proposed, would seem to mark out that point as the proper southern terminus of an Indiana road. In this he re-

vealed a sagacity decidedly in advance of that of the legislature which, six years later, established such terms for the Madison. The falls of the Ohio, with its three cities of Cincinnati, New Albany and the Kentucky metropolis, and the city of Madison, was undoubtedly the logical stopping-place for our first road, as is proved by the fact that the Madison was ultimately swallowed up by the line between Jeffersonville and Indianapolis. Governor Ray's opulence of imagination led him into schemes and predictions that in his day passed for the rankest whimsicality. According to one of his biographers he dreamed of a "grand scheme of railroad concentration at Indianapolis. Here was to be the head of a score of radiating lines. At intervals of five miles were to be villages, of ten miles towns and of twenty miles respectable cities." Subsequent history shows that the vagaries of a "crazy" man sometimes can run the wisdom of his generation.

By 1831 the railroad idea was beginning to ferment. Ray in his message of that year speaks of lines that "are contemplated from Cincinnati and from Louisville to Indianapolis," and a legislative report from a committee on canals and internal improvements discusses the practicability of railroads as compared with canals. Public interest was promoted at this period doubtless, by the exhibitions of a Kentucky genius, one Joseph Bruen, who traveled about with a miniature locomotive and coach and a portable track with which he demonstrated to the curious the wonderful possibilities of the steam engine by drawing his little coach full of people around his runway. This was the first locomotive to turn wheels in Indiana.

In 1832, for some reason not quite clear, there was a sudden, not to say spasmodic, impulse toward this form of internal improvement, as is indicated by the fact that this year eight different railroads were chartered by the Indiana legislature. This preliminary craze grew. In such history as we have upon the subject it is customarily represented that the construction of the Madison & Indianapolis road under the State's aid marks the very beginning of our railroad era; but it is an interesting though now quite forgotten fact, that before the State essayed that task at all the legislature was deluged with applications and something like thirty charters were granted to would-be

railroad corporations. These corporations were composed of the enterprising and public-spirited citizens of many communities all over the State, and the roads, had they all materialized, would have pretty well provided the various sections of the State with transportation routes. Even at that day the future importance of the capital as a railway town was, in a sense, foreshadowed, as eight of the proposed roads were to connect with Indianapolis. These incipient ventures may be mentioned more specifically. The first six charters were granted simultaneously by an act of February 2, 1832, and these were the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis; the Madison, Indianapolis & Lafayette; the Ohio & Lafayette (from falls of the Ohio via Salem to Lafayette); the Wabash & Michigan (from Lafayette to the site of Michigan City); the Harrison & Indianapolis (via Brookville and Rushville), and the New Albany, Salem, Indianapolis & Wabash. Immediately on the heels of these came the Richmond, Eaton & Miami and the Ohio & Indianapolis (Jeffersonville to Indianapolis via Columbus). The legislature following seems to have done nothing in this line, but that of 1833-'34 chartered the Evansville & Lafayette (to follow the Wabash valley); the Indianapolis & Lafayette (via Crawfordsville); the Leavenworth & Bloomington; the Indiana Northwest Railroad Company (from Michigan City to the National Road on the west side of the Wabash at Terre Haute), and a short road connecting New Albany and Jeffersonville. In 1835 Charlestown thought to relieve the handicap of its inland situation by a little steam road to the Ohio river, and the list was further swelled by the Buffalo & Mississippi (to cross the northern part of the State); the Indianapolis & Montezuma, and the Michigan City & Kankakee (to connect Lake Michigan with the navigable waters of the Kankakee). A year later followed the Crawfordsville, Covington & Illinois; the Princeton & Wabash; the Perrysville & Danville (Ill.); the Lafayette & Danville; the Bethlehem & Rockford (from Bethlehem, in Clark county, to Rockford, in Jackson county); the Jeffersonville & Vernon, and the Madison & Brownstown. In 1837 came the Michigan City & St. Joseph (Mich.); the Indianapolis & Michigan City; the Hudson (Laporte county) & New Buffalo (Mich.); the Ft. Wayne & Piqua (O.), and the Mount Carmel & New Albany.

These incorporations, extending over a period of five mark the railroad movement preliminary to any real construction. While the number of them and corresponding number of promoters drawn into the ventures would seem to indicate a strong tide of sentiment in favor of this innovation in transportation, there are further indications that capital generally and public confidence were slow to respond. With all the rush of charters little was done beyond an occasional sporadic stirring of the question by some local paper and, perhaps, an unceremonious amount of surveying. The "little" referred to was to the credit of the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis company, which, as appears by the records, was the most energetic of the various companies and which, in 1854, actually got down to work. To this company belongs the honor of introducing the railroad in Indiana. The Madison & Indianapolis line is credited with the distinction of being the pioneer road, but as a matter of fact, before the Madison road was taken up by the State, and while the Madison company was practically sacrificing its charter, the L. & I. company was surveying, constructing and establishing data for future roads. The construction was on an experimental strip of road, one and one-fourth miles in length, in the neighborhood of Shelbyville. The first railroad report in the State was, we believe, the one transmitted to the legislature by this company under date of December 5, 1834. It is a document of some interest. The implication is that the locality at Shelbyville was chosen because the cuts, embankments and other problems for the engineer at that point represented a fair average for experimental data. There was "one cut of five feet, one embankment of five feet and of one of ten, two curves and two bridges." The cost was \$1500 per mile. Of course there was no locomotive for the road, and in lieu thereof a horse-car was built and the great advantages of a track in facilitating traction was effectively demonstrated, if we can believe the statement that "one horse was found able to draw forty to fifty persons at the rate of nineteen miles per hour." This road was "opened" on the Fourth of July, 1834, at an expense of \$222.12½ for the car and \$12.62 for horses and drivers, \$60 of which was returned to the promoters in fares from those who treated themselves to a ride over the new road. Local tradition says that the occasion

was additionally celebrated by an old-time barbecue. This report, which is over the signature of James Blake, "President pro tem.," argues vigorously for the advantages of railroads and presents figures that purport to show that railroad transportation as compared with rates by wagon, etc., would save in one year nearly a quarter of a million dollars to ten specified counties, the estimates being based upon current tonnage and rates. The new values that would be given to stone, timber and firewood for steam mills is also dwelt upon, as are the prospects for liberal dividends to stockholders.

These arguments but reinforced others, equally ardent, advanced two years before by John Test, then president of the L. & I., who contributed to the *Indiana Palladium*, beginning March 17, 1832, a series of articles on railroads which are among the first if not the first elaborate discussions of the subject in the Indiana press. As presented by him, the L. & I. was to be a "link in a great chain," that was to be extended from Cincinnati to St. Louis by way of Indianapolis.

With all the zeal and enterprise of its promoters, however, the L. & I. company was doomed to delays many and vexatious ere it accomplished its dream of a connection with Indianapolis and the interior of the State. The difficulties of financing railroads at this stage of progress was probably the fatal obstacle to all these early ventures.* Public sentiment as expressed in the confidence of capitalists was not yet ripe, but the ripening process was slowly going on. Everybody realized that better transportation facilities were an ever-pressing need, but the cost of building and maintaining railroads seemed something prodigious. The problem took the form of a choice between improved wagon roads, canals and railroads, and there was frequent discussion of the respective merits of these. The macadam turnpike, which was much considered, was, of course, by far the cheapest of these improvements in localities where the material for it was to be found, but in other localities it was prohibitive. In the discussions the respective advantages of canals and railroads seemed to be about balanced. As to first cost, the argument was, perhaps, in favor of the railroad, as railroads were

*It may be added here that the development of the State at this period could not have supported these railroads had they been built.

then constructed, but in the building of the latter the cost was far more hypothetical than that of canals, with which engineers were more familiar. The expensive machinery for locomotives and the vehicles for carriage, together with the frequent repairs on these and on the roadbed, made the cost of maintaining the railroad formidable and problematical, but the canals, from floods and other causes, were also subject to expensive repairs. The enormous tonnage that could be moved with small horsepower and cheap motor power was vastly in favor of the canal, but notwithstanding this the railroad offered the no small advantage of being saved by swift conveyance. Again, canals in our northern latitude would be put wholly out of service during the more severe winter months, while railroad service, comparatively independent of weather contingencies, would be continuous. Another consideration was that railroad machinery and much of the material for construction, being imported, took money out of the country, while money expended on canals remained here; and finally, the water-power afforded by canals as a "by-product" built up mills and other industries along their lines.

These were the arguments, in brief, that were put before capitalists and the people during that uncertain period when the transportation problem was pressing for solution and the financial and social conditions counseled conservatism and prudence. That the practically untried railroad won but slowly over the better-known canal is evidenced by the fact that when the State finally took up a system of public works there were included in it four canals and only one railroad—the famous "Madison" road.

THE MADISON & INDIANAPOLIS ROAD.*

The earlier years of the Madison & Indianapolis railroad present a phase of railroad history that is unique, at least in this State. It was one of the first roads incorporated, its charter bearing the same date as that of the Lawrenceburgh & Indianapolis. For four years, as a private corporation, it lay all but dormant, so far as actual performance was concerned. Just why the

*A history of Jefferson county now being prepared by Miss Drusilla L. Cravens, of Madison, devotes a long chapter to the Madison & Indianapolis railroad which, when published, will probably be the most thorough history of the road that has appeared in print. The sketch we here present deals with this special history only so far as it is essential to our more general subject.

State took Madison under its wing is a story lost to history now, unless it might be dug up from contemporary newspaper files. As a matter of fact the Ohio river towns, notably Lawrenceburgh, Madison, Jeffersonville and New Albany, were lively and jealous rivals in all that pertained to their prosperity from the interior, and they were probably rivals for the State railroad as they had been for the Michigan road some years before. Lawrenceburgh, from its nearer approach to Cincinnati and the markets of the East, and the cities at the falls of the Ohio, that much nearer the Southern markets, were more logical points than Madison for railroad connection with the interior. But Madison got the Michigan road and she got the railroad, and the most reasonable inference seems to be that in the strenuous legislative "log-rolling" of that day her representatives were the most expert. However that may be, the chief factor in Madison's future prosperity (as it proved) was thus introduced, and the timid people who lacked the faith to build their own railroad hailed with enthusiasm the paternal undertaking, as if the big State in its might could do with impunity what private enterprise could not.

The State took up the work on a broad-gauge plan, and at once. In 1836 the route was surveyed from Madison to Vernon, a distance of twenty-two miles, and ground was broken. The builders proceeded on the theory that the best was none too good, and instead of using the plain strap rail, then and for some years after in common use, a T rail was imported from England at an expense of \$80 per ton. In November, 1838, eight or nine miles of track having been completed, the road was formally "opened," the event being signalized by the presence of the Governor and other State officials, and distinguished citizens from far and near. A locomotive had been ordered of the Baldwin shops, at Philadelphia, and shipped via the gulf and rivers, but this was lost at sea, and in lieu of it a little engine named the "Elkhorn," owned by the Lexington & Ohio railroad, in Kentucky, was secured, brought from Louisville on a barge, hauled up the Michigan road hill by oxen, and put on the track at North Madison. An excursion was made over the new track and the affair wound up with a banquet and speeches. Railroad progress in the State being continuous from that day, this may be considered the real inauguration of the railroad age

in Indiana. The road was opened for traffic as far as Gr creek, about eighteen miles out, in April of 1839. At that there were two roads in the West in operation—one from ington, Ky., to the Ohio river at Louisville (from which "Elkhorn" had been secured), and another from Toledo, O Adrian, Mich., which was opened in 1836.* The Mad River Lake Erie, running southward from Sandusky, O., was pu operation the same year as the M. & I.

The State built twenty-eight miles of this road at the enormous cost of \$1,624,603, or something over fifty-eight thousand dollars per mile, then, the penalty for the statesmanship of 18 being about due, it, along with the other public works, was suspended. The railroad was leased to private firms—first Brahams & Co., then Sering & Burt—who ran it for a percentage of the earnings. Then the State took hold of its business again only to find itself burdened more than ever with a "white elephant," and following that a transfer of the road was made to a private company with the agreement that the latter should take up anew the work of construction and complete it to Indianapolis. By way of aid this company was permitted to receive land in payment for shares of stock, and to issue scrip redeemable in this land. Land to the amount of 26,795 acres was subscribed, and \$96,200 in scrip issued. The work was pushed to completion, and on October 1, 1847, the first train steamed into Indianapolis in the midst of a jubilation as enthusiastic as that at Madison, in 1838, when the little "Elkhorn" was introduced to the curious public. It should be noted that the company constructed its part of the work at something less than \$11,000 per mile as against the \$58,000 of the State's expenditures. The engineering difficulties of the southern end were much greater than those further north, but by no means such as to account for the vast discrepancy.

The proprietorship of the M. & I. was now dual, the State and the company owning respectively the portions they had built, and the earnings were divided according to mileage. The story of this copartnership is one of protected monopoly and presents an interesting phase of the subject. It is dealt with at length in Miss Cravens's chapter above referred to, and need not

*Howe's Collections of Ohio, v. II, p. 412.

be dwelt upon here. Suffice to say that under it the State gained nothing, railroad construction elsewhere was unfairly retarded, and the Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, within a few years, waxed fat off its advantages. The relationship lasted until 1852. Then the State sold out its interests to the company at a sacrifice, withdrew its protection, and at once proceeded to the passage of a general railroad law that opened the way to those rival lines that had been previously handicapped by the denial of fair charters. The result was fatal to the M. & I. The most formidable of those rivals, the Jeffersonville and the Lawrenceburgh roads, pushed forward their work and soon intercepted the trade of the Madison, carrying it to more advantageous points on the Ohio; simultaneously, the Bellefontaine, which had been building for three or four years, made a direct connection with the East by way of Ohio roads, and soon thereafter the Indiana Central did the same. Meanwhile the M. & I. steadily declined,* finally (in 1862) was sold out by the United States marshal, and not long after became the property of the Jeffersonville road. Since then the Madison end of the line is but a branch of the main road.

OTHER EARLY RAILROADS.

After four or five years of vicissitudes the Madison & Indianapolis railroad began to justify its existence as a business venture. Between the years 1843 and 1849, according to Chamberlin's *Indiana Gazetteer*, its annual receipts steadily increased from \$22,110 to \$235,000, and the daily travel from 25 to 200 passengers. After its completion to Indianapolis, in 1847, its real prosperity set in and until 1852 its volume of business increased phenomenally, its financial success being indicated by the fact that in the year last mentioned its stock sold for \$1.60.† This practical object lesson had its effect as a stimulus, and the "railroad fever" of the early fifties is a well-known chapter of

*The report of President E. W. H. Ellis for 1854 (see *Documentary Journal* for that year) as a piece of naïve literature is unique among official reports. The burden of the president's wail is that the State, in passing a law which "opened the door for the construction of other railroads," was instrumental in inflicting serious damage on the M. & I., through competition that at once sprang up. The long-protected M. & I. seemed to regard this as a breach of faith on the part of its erstwhile protector.

†Holloway's *Indianapolis*.

our railroad history. Pretty nearly every section of State caught the disease and proceeded to build railroads at an astonishing rate. Prior to 1850 the only railroad in operation in Indiana was the Madison & Indianapolis. By the latter end of that year the Bellefontaine had completed 28 miles; the Evansville, 16; the Knightstown & Shelbyville, 27; the Rushville & Shelbyville, 20; the New Albany & Salem, 35; and the Shelbyville branch of the M. & I., 16; making, with the original 86 miles of the M. & I., a total of 238, according to the 1850 census. Governor Wright, in his message of December 31, 1850, says: "We have 212 miles of railroad in successful operation, of which 124 were completed the past year. There are more than 1000 miles of railroad surveyed and in a state of progress. There are now," he says, "\$1,000,000 of corporate stock taken in the State, in railroads, by cities and counties, and from the present excitement in different parts of the State the amount will be largely increased the coming season."* On the maps of Indiana for 1852 and 1853 we find almost a score of roads traversing the country in all directions, most of them being then in operation. These are the Madison & Indianapolis, the Terre Haute & Indianapolis, the Lafayette & Indianapolis, the Peru & Indianapolis, the Indianapolis & Bellefontaine, the Indiana Central, the Indianapolis, Lawrenceburgh & Cincinnati, and the Jeffersonville, all directly tributary to Indianapolis. Others are the New Albany & Salem, traversing the length of the State, from New Albany to Michigan City; the Northern Indiana (Michigan Southern); the Cincinnati & Lawrenceburgh (Ohio & Mississippi), to Vernon; the Junction (C., H. & D.) from eastern State line to Rushville, and the Richmond & New Castle, from Richmond to Anderson, with continuous connections to Kokomo, Logansport and the New Albany & Salem road at a point in Stark county. Other roads and branches, the names of which are not given, are from Evansville to Vincennes, Martinsville to Franklin, Edinburg to Shelbyville and Rushville, Michigan City to Chicago, and Peru to Elkhart.†

*With a distrust born of the State's past experience, the Governor deprecates this dabbling in stocks with public funds, and maintains that railroads should be entirely private enterprises.

†Few, if any, of these roads now retain their original names.

BEGINNINGS OF A SYSTEM.

It may be noted that the combined mileage of these roads and the areas they served were much in excess of that contemplated in the famous internal improvement system which the State had hoped to establish fifteen years before. An examination of the routes shows that not only were the various sections and principal cities of the State put into communication with each other, but systems of trunk lines were beginning to be knit that reached out to remoter points and to the great markets that were so necessary to the State's prosperity. The Terre Haute, Cincinnati, Indiana Central and Bellefontaine roads, connecting with roads in other States, were or were soon to become links in continuous lines binding the Mississippi river to the Atlantic seaboard; the New Albany & Salem connected the Ohio river and the great lakes, while the Madison, Jeffersonville and Peru roads, with extensions northward soon to follow, did the same. Two other lines built a little later, one being completed in 1856 and the other in 1857, were the Pittsburgh, Ft. Wayne & Chicago and the Toledo, Wabash & Western, which were important additions to the new transportation system. The latter, having its eastern terminus at Lake Erie, threaded the Wabash valley to Williamsport, in Warren county, thence passed to the Mississippi river. In its route through this State it paralleled the Wabash & Erie canal, and demonstrated directly and strikingly the relative values of the two great methods of transportation. The railroad ruined the canal. After the year 1856 the rents and tolls from the latter fell steadily off till, from \$113,423.47 in the last-named year the returns in 1874 were but \$7,179.61. Back of this, of course, lay the decreasing traffic by boat. Not only passenger travel but the greater part of the imports and much of the export trade was shifted to the more expeditious mode of conveyance, and only the bulkier goods, such as grain and lumber, which were the least profitable, were left to the canal boats. As this kind of tonnage was mostly exports, the boats that carried it out frequently had to return empty—a condition that was fatal to profits and the life of the canal trade. In a word, the canal, as opposed to the railroad, was a failure, and was passing into desuetude.

INFLUENCES OF THE RAILROAD.

The influence of the railroad throughout the State was ed, not to say phenomenal. A striking illustration of it was afforded by the rise and decline of Madison. Between 1840 and 1850 the population of this city increased from 3798 to 7000. In the early fifties, in point of commerce, wealth, culture and general status, she was easily the leading city of Indiana, and the chief factor in creating such preeminence was the old Madison railroad draining down to that point, as it did for a dozen years all the trade of the interior. For one thing, it became a great market, second only to Cincinnati, the "Porkopolis" of the West. Practically all the travel into the interior from the East and South was by way of Madison and her railway, and she became known as the "gateway to the State." The decline of her role after 1852, by the deflection of trade to other roads, marks the beginning of her decline, and, outstripped as she has been by other towns of the State, she now stands in history as an object lesson, proving how the railroads can make and unmake cities. Richmond, between 1850 and 1860, gained over 5000 in population, advancing, meanwhile, to a manufacturing city of quite respectable proportions. A like stimulus can be traced in Ellettsburg, Wayne, Lafayette, Terre Haute and other towns that were on important lines. Not the least notable of the many effects was the rearrangement, so to speak, of the centers of population. Under the old order, navigable waters, good mill seats and topographical considerations were important factors in determining settlements, but now the centers that sprang up were strung along the new overland routes of travel and many of the river towns that had aspired to ascendancy were left to dwindle in isolation. As, in the first instance, the leading towns already in existence determined the location of the railroad routes, so to a greater degree did these routes determine the location and multiply the number of the smaller towns. The early roads, when surveyed, passed through comparatively few towns other than county seats, yet Governor Ray's dream of a town or village every five miles has long since been practically fulfilled. Along with the growth of urban populations and transportation advantages went an industrial development, and from a purely agri-

cultural State Indiana began to make a showing in the manufactures,* and her natural resources, many of which had lain in primeval uselessness because of the transportation difficulties, now began to engage the attention of capitalists. Real estate took on new values. The advantages to the State generally were set forth by the president of the M. & I. road at the time Indiana was trying to get out of the entanglement with her railroad. Even if she had paid enormously for her road and had sold out for a pittance, it was plausibly argued, the vast enhancement in property values and the corresponding returns from taxation, due directly to this railroad, far outweighed the seeming loss.† This was doubtless true, and it indicates, in part, the immeasurable effect upon the commonwealth of the railroads collectively.

THE RAILROADS AND INDIANAPOLIS.

But the most notable, perhaps, of the stimulating effects of the railroads within the State was the part they played in the development of Indianapolis. From the first charters of the early thirties, as has been shown, the capital, located as it was, was recognized as a logical railroad center, and among those

*A reference to statistics shows the effect of the railroads upon manufactures. The *Indiana Gazetteer* for 1850 gives the manufactured products of the year as aggregating in value \$19,199,681, while these values for the next ten years, according to the census of 1860, averaged \$41,840,434, with a total of 20,755 hands employed in manufacturing industries. Taken by counties, those that show the heavy investments are, almost without exception, those that have the railroad advantages. Jefferson and Wayne lead all the others, the former with \$1,117,699 of invested capital.

The important relation of the railroad to commercial prosperity is illustrated by what was known as the "Erie war," which occurred in 1853. At that time the railroads had not established a uniform gauge (width between the rails), and a break of gauge at Erie, Pa., which was in the line of travel between the East and the West, necessitated not only a transfer of all through passengers at that point, but of all freight traffic as well. The profit in this to the town of Erie and the corresponding inconvenience and expense to travelers and shippers resulted in serious friction. Erie seemed to think that her transferring industry was a vested right, and that the rest of the world could go hang, and when an attempt was made to unify the gauge her citizens forcibly interfered with the laying of rails in the streets. The wrath in the West at Erie's hoggishness and the execrations heaped upon the town by the press and in indignation meetings were loud and universal. The *Indianapolis Journal* for December 17, 24, 25 and 28, 1853, gives glimpses of the public feeling.

In justly estimating what seems the State's signal failure at railroad building, the above results should be considered, and also the fact that, but for its taking up the task, railroad construction in the State would probably have been delayed several years. The lack of public confidence and the difficulties of capitalizing were amply proved in the thirties. An actual experiment—an object lesson—was needed to establish faith. This the State supplied, and the result was the impulse of the fifties.

built in the early fifties not less than eight focussed the the history of the place a distinct period begins with 184 the M. & I. road established a connection with the Ohio From that date it proceeded to evolve from the status ordinary country town to that of a city with multiple growing activities. The particulars of this transition graphically set forth by the author of "Holloway's Indianapolis The business of the town, he says, was purely local. "It duced little and it distributed little. A small amount of bing' was done in an irregular way among the small dealers manufacturers of the neighboring towns, but it was ne large enough or certain enough to be considered a brand trade. The manufacturing, except for home demand, was more trifling than the mercantile business. Occasional tempts had been made at iron, wool, oil, tobacco, hemp, even ginseng manufacture, but none of them amounted to m or lasted long." With the opening of the Madison road, "th was a change of features, of form, a suggestion of manhood trace of the beard and voice of virility. Manufactures appe ed; 'stores' that had formerly mixed up dry goods, grocerie grain, hardware, earthenware and even books in their stock began to select and confine themselves to one or two classe of their former assortment. * * * Business showed its growth in its divisions; the price of property advanced; a city form of government was adopted; a school system was inaugu rated. Everybody felt the impulse, without exactly feeling its direction, of prosperity. * * * New hotels, manufactories and business houses also appeared. The Bates House and Sherman House were built; Osgood & Smith's peg and last factory. Geisendorff's woollen mill, Drew's carriage establishment, Shel lenbarger's planing-mill and Macy's pork-house swelled our industries, and various blocks, schoolhouses, railroad shops and other buildings were added to our improvements." A glance at the local press of the fifties confirms this description of prosperity and bustle. Three-fourths of the space, seemingly, was taken up by advertisements; the columns were dotted with little cuts of engines and cars, with accompanying time-tables; pictures of trains were incorporated in the newspaper heads, and a

semi-literary weekly, the first of its kind in the city, saw fit to take the name *The Locomotive*.

This sudden quickening proved to be no passing phase, for before two decades of the railroad era had passed Indianapolis, the railroad center, had become the chief city of the State, "hopelessly ahead of all rivalry, the seat of the most numerous, varied and productive manufactories, and the distributing center of a trade probably unequalled by any city in the Union of the same population." The continuation of this process of growth, the establishment of a still wider circle of connections and the addition of the interurban transportation system with the wonderful changes it is now effecting is a matter of common knowledge which passes chronologically beyond the scope of this study.

THE UNION DEPOT.

With the first centering of railroads at Indianapolis the desirability of a plan whereby, for the convenience of through passenger traffic, these roads could be made continuous in their connections, presented itself, and an account of the inception and development of this plan, which seems to have been original with the parties mentioned, is thus given by Mr. W. N. Jackson in the *Indianapolis Journal* for July 29, 1900:

"Chauncy Rose, of the Terre Haute & Richmond; John Brough, of the Madison & Indianapolis, and Oliver H. Smith, of the Bellefontaine line, met in their office in the middle of the Circle in 1850, and planned and carried into execution soon after, a Union Station at Indianapolis, and erected the first one that was ever built. For this a union track was needed from the middle of Tennessee street northeasterly to the middle of Washington street at Noble street, and the right of way for which was taken by the Terre Haute & Richmond to Pennsylvania street, and from there onward northeasterly to the center of Washington street by the Bellefontaine and Peru roads. A few miles of each road had been made previous to this. The right of way from the Madison & Indianapolis depot on South street to Meridian street was given by Austin W. Morris. The right of way from Pennsylvania street to New Jersey street was purchased from Mrs. McCarty. The Union Station was opened Septem-

ber 20, 1853, the building being finished at that period. Chauncy Rose was president of the company and Mr. V. Jackson, secretary, treasurer and ticket agent.

"The Lawrenceburgh & Upper Mississippi railroad entered this station in the spring of 1854 as the Indianapolis & Cincinnati Railroad Company; the Indiana Central at the same time and the Lafayette a little later, followed by the Indiana & Vincennes, the Indianapolis, Bloomington & Western, Indianapolis, Decatur & Springfield, the Cincinnati, Hamilton Indianapolis, and the Monon branch of the Louisville, New Albany & Chicago roads."

The Union Company owned all the tracks in the city and the Union Depot independently of the various roads as such. The old building, which was planned by General T. A. Morris, was originally 420 feet long by 120 wide, but afterward (in 1866) was made 200 feet wide. It was replaced by the present building in 1887-'08.

THE BELT RAILROAD.

The centering of twelve or thirteen railroads at Indianapolis caused, by the seventh decade, a congestion of traffic at that point that embarrassed the city and called for a remedy. The remedy developed in the shape of a separate road located beyond the outskirts of the city and that encircled it sufficiently to connect with all the lines that entered, and by this "Belt Road," as it was called, freight was and is transferred from one road to another without entering the city. The idea is said to have been a new one and the Indianapolis Belt Road the first one of the kind ever built. The real originator and earliest promoter of the plan has received very little credit for the part he played as the "first cause" of this important work. The written history of it begins with the organization of the company in 1873, but at least three years before that time the scheme was fermenting in the mind of Joel F. Richardson, a practical railroad man, who for more than fifteen years had been identified with construction in Indiana. This is revealed by diaries and other documents left by Mr. Richardson, and now in possession of his daughters in Irvington, Indianapolis. One statement of Mr. Richardson's as written down by his daughter at the time it was made is as follows:

"Coming up from Cincinnati one day in 1870, there was a car off the track at Walter's mill. While waiting there I had a talk with John H. Lozier about the Fletcher property in Indianapolis, he being one of the trustees. He said that as the property was in the south part of the city it would not amount to much on account of having to cross the railroads to get to or from it. I took from my pocket my drawing of the Circle Railroad and explained its necessity and my idea about it. Mr. Lozier was favorably impressed with it, and I asked him to write a piece about it for the paper to place it before the public."

Reverting back to that period the Misses Richardson remember as children this, to them, mysterious drawing of the "Circle" road and the explanations of the same as made by their father. Mr. Lozier, the daughters think, published an article in one of the Indianapolis papers about 1871 or 1872. The matter then seems to have rested until 1873, when it was taken up anew and briskly pushed. In one of the diaries above referred to the first entry is:

"Friday, Jan. 10, 1873. Stayed at the Mason House over night. Called on Col. Farquhar and showed him my plan for a railroad around the city."

On subsequent dates, as shown by the diary, he was busy presenting his plan to other capitalists and railroad men, from one of whom, Dillard Ricketts, he received especial encouragement. Ricketts told him to "go on and work the matter up and he would furnish money for the enterprise." Other entries show that in February he walked over the ground bordering the city, prospecting for a route. By August a company was formed and incorporated, and from that date Richardson's dream began to materialize.

The following sketch of the road was written by Charles Test Dalton as a contribution to the "Indiana Centennial Association" which celebrated July 4, 1900, by a historical meeting at the State House.* It was published in the *Indianapolis Journal*

*This "Centennial Association," which has been mentioned before in this magazine, never held any meetings other than the one here referred to. A number of valuable historical papers were prepared for the occasion by competent persons. These were local in their character, and most or all of them were subsequently published in the *Journal*. The meeting was under the auspices of the Indiana Historical Society, but its chief if not sole promoter was Gen. John Coburn, who urgently solicited the preparation of the papers.

for August 26, 1900. Mr. Dalton took the pains carefully interview men who had been intimately connected with the Railroad enterprise, and his sketch is the fullest and most able of which we have knowledge:

"A corporation was formed in August, 1873, of which F. C. Lord was president, to construct a Belt road and stock on the present line. On September 10, 1873, the McCarty conveyed to this corporation a strip of ground one hundred in width, running from the Vandalia Railroad through to the river on the present line, containing more than twenty acres shown in deed recorded in Land Record 20, page 294, according to the conditions therein named. Articles of association incorporating the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company were filed August 9, 1873, in the office of the Secretary of State, to construct a road connecting the different railroads leading into the city. The then over-crowded tracks of the Union Railroad Company over which all freight, as well as passenger cars, were brought to the city, suggested the importance of the same. The directors for the first year named therein were Addison L. Roach, Thomas D. Kingan, John H. Farquhar, Elijah B. Martindale, Joel F. Richardson, Milton M. Landis, Henry C. Lord, John Thomas and William Coughlen. H. C. Lord was elected president of the company and Joel F. Richardson, superintendent. The latter, it was said, was the first to suggest building the railroad.

"Early in September Mr. Henry C. Lord, as president of the company, proposed to Nicholas McCarty that if he and the other McCarty heirs, owners of the real estate lying between Oliver avenue and the Vincennes railroad and that between the Vincennes railroad and the river, would give the right of way through all such real estate, McCarty might select one of the three routes named by Mr. Lord on which the right of way should be located. Negotiations relative to the matter resulted in the conveyance by deed September 10, 1873, to this company of a strip of ground one hundred feet in width, running through all the said real estate on the present line of the Belt Railroad proper, containing about twenty acres, and being 8,800 feet long, as shown in deed recorded in Land Record 20, page 294, according to the conditions named therein. The company proceeded

o make the roadbed through the strip, first working on it between the Vincennes railroad and Oliver avenue. Soon afterward the panic came, all work was discontinued and was not resumed until some time thereafter, when money, it was said, was furnished by Mr. Thomas D. Kingan, and the company continued the work on the roadbed east of the Vincennes railroad. Some little time thereafter all operations were again discontinued, and, the company failing to meet the conditions of the deed, the whole strip reverted to the grantors, a decree in the Marion Superior Court, cause No. 14676, against the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company, Thomas D. Kingan and others, quieted the title in the McCarty heirs. This strip of ground is all the company ever secured for a right of way. Nothing further as to work on the embankment or any of the right of way was ever done under the direction of the Indianapolis Belt Railway Company.

“At that time Indianapolis was a city of barely over 50,000 people, a prosperous overgrown country town, of conservative people and plain dwellings, separated in a measure from the bustle of the outside world and caring nothing whether this or that city outgrew it; consequently there was little waste of nervous energy, no booms and few local strikes. This feeling of security had built up a residence city and one of solid wealth, and the fact that homes were built here by hard labor instilled in all classes a feeling of proprietorship. And this is why the great financial panic of 1873 did not reach Indianapolis until several years later, but the inevitable day dawned at last. It was a serious hour, and had to be handled in a firm manner and by a strong hand. The man arose to the occasion; he successfully averted a labor war and incidentally gave to this city a gift the value of which he could hardly hope would prove the greatest industry of this city. But the test of twenty-three years has proved his judgment. The enterprise was the Indianapolis Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and the man who thought out this project was the Hon. John Caven. He was mayor of the city, and endeavored to devise some plan whereby he might give labor to the unemployed and at the same time build something which would not merely be an ornament to the city, but which would bring in revenue to repay itself and

in the future increase in value. This would be accomplished by building a great belt road around the city in connection with the various railroads entering from all directions and connecting it with a large stockyard from which immense shipments be received and sent to other parts of the country. This, therefore, furnished labor to the unemployed, brought a cattle market to Indianapolis and a large amount of tax property; and all of this was not the act of a speculator or promoter, but of a man who cared for his city and his people much that he would accept no stock in the concern which could have done so justly and have acquired a fortune.

"When the details of the enterprise had been thoroughly gone over Mayor Caven drew up the Belt road message and read it before the Council on July 17, 1876. It was published in the papers, where it caused considerable comment. Articles of association of the Union Railroad and Stockyards Company, dated August 29, 1876, were filed in the Secretary of State's office. The directors for the first year named therein were J. C. Ferguson, John Thomas, W. C. Holmes, W. N. Jackson, E. F. Claypool, John F. Miller, M. A. Downing, Horace Scott and W. R. McKee. The purpose of the same, as stated in these articles, was to 'provide convenient methods for the transportation and transfer of freight and stock cars through, into and around the city of Indianapolis, and to effect the speedy, economical exchange of cars between all the railroads entering therein, or passing through; and for the erection and maintenance of ample stockyards for the accommodation of all the live stock that may be brought into or pass through said city.' An ordinance contract was passed by the Council of Indianapolis on the petition of a majority of the citizens of Indianapolis, to be found in the volume of Indianapolis city ordinances, published in 1895, sections 1315 to 1324, both inclusive. The city of Indianapolis agreed to lend its credit to the company to the extent of \$500,000 in its bonds. After the passage of this ordinance, attorneys gave their opinion that bonds issued under the same would be invalid unless validated by an act of the Legislature, which act was passed by the Legislature, approved March 2, 1877. (See acts of 1877, page 116.) Many of our best citizens opposed the city lending its credit to the road, but a majority favored it.

The petition, signed by a majority of the citizens, was secured only after a faithful and energetic canvassing for two or three weeks of the whole city by committees from the various wards, and the validating act of the Legislature was secured after quite a struggle before the members and committees of the Legislature, by those in favor and those against the project. But it was finally passed by a large majority of both houses. Mr. Justus C. Adams, with other legislators from our county, was active in the support of the project, and perhaps more credit is due Mr. Adams than any one person in the Legislature that year for having secured the passage of the act.

“Under the ordinance contract the agreement between the Union Railroad Transfer and Stockyards Company and the city of Indianapolis (recorded in the recorder's office October 20, 1877, in Mortgage Record 305, page 514), the city agreed to lend its credit in the way of issuing the city bonds to the amount of \$500,000. The Council passed the ordinance October 16, 1876, for the issuance of the city bonds, payable in twenty years, to be dated January 1, 1877, the Belt Railroad bonds to be given to the city to secure it against the payment of the bonds so issued by the city, dated December 1, 1876. The exchange of these bonds was to be made in accordance with said agreement. The mortgage securing the bonds so executed by the railroad company to the city was recorded in Mortgage Record 97, page 34. The Belt Railroad Company having paid off the bonds so issued by the city, the mortgage executed by the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company to the city was released July 22, 1898. By a warranty deed of June 5, 1877, the McCarty heirs conveyed to the Union Railroad, Transfer and Stockyards Company a strip of ground 100 feet in width, running through their land from a point near the Vandalia Railroad to White river, and about 105 acres for the site of the stockyards. The track was very soon laid, and the buildings of the stockyards erected and inclosed, and business began at once. Afterward the name of the Union Railway and Stockyards Company was changed to that of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and on the 17th day of October the Belt Railroad proper was leased from the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company by the Indianapolis Union Railway Company for a term of 999 years, beginning on the 1st day of May, 1884.

"August 11, 1895, the McCarty heirs sold and conveyed James Cuzzing 29½ acres adjoining the old stockyards but recorded in Land Record 30, page 17. Afterward, by such conveyances, this same land was conveyed to the Farmer Drivers' Stockyard Company, a corporation organized under the laws of Indiana. This corporation was formed in opposition to the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, and, after proceeding to make some little improvements, it was settled with the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company and conveyed to it the above 29½ acres October 16, 1895, recorded in Land Record 30, page 109). So the two companies were consolidated, and by the settlement Kingan & Co. leased the porkhouse belonging to the old company and made a contract with the old company to continue to do their business with where they (Kingan & Co.) have contributed so largely to success. This 29½ acres, so conveyed, added to the 105 acres and the 20-acre strip of land above mentioned, make 154½ acres altogether which the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company now owns. In the organization of the Belt Railroad and Stockyards Company, W. Riley McKeen, Horace Scott, E. F. Claypool, W. C. Holmes, M. A. Downing and others were prominent, and after the organization of the same, W. R. McKeen, Horace Scott, M. A. Downing and E. F. Claypool were the active managers of the company. Mr. Claypool, as secretary and treasurer of the company, managed the financial operations of the company with great skill, and perhaps no one is more entitled to credit for carrying the company through and placing it upon a solid foundation than he.

"The struggle of the company began with the city credit of \$500,000. A petition was signed by a majority of all the citizens requesting that the loan be made, and even then the ordinance was duly passed by the Council by a bare majority of one. This shows how strong was the opposition against the measure. And, after this it was declared that the bonds issued by the Council were invalid, and that it was necessary to procure an act of Legislature to secure their validity; which was done by an act approved March 2, 1877 (acts of 1877, p. 116). Despite the opposition the measure passed both houses of the Legisla-

ure by a large majority. The greatest difficulties seemed to have been surmounted, and the work of construction was begun. The company continued the work until June 1, when it was interrupted, at a most inopportune time, in the midst of serious labor troubles and when work was almost impossible to be found; and when men were depressed and desperate. It seems that certain land-owners were not satisfied with the amount of money awarded them for the right of way, and a contest in court ensued. This threw many men out of employment, and a decision of the courts would probably delay the work for months. In the meantime people might starve and serious trouble result. Then it was that Mayor Caven worked night and day. Trouble had been brewing for a long time, and it culminated on the evening of June 6, 1877, when a large meeting of the unemployed was called at the Statehouse grounds. In the afternoon a compromise was effected by the mayor, and he gained permission to continue the work irrespective of the pending lawsuit. As soon as this point had been gained he sought Mr. Claypool, who was secretary of the company at the time; Mr. Reed, the engineer, and Mr. Richardson, who had charge of the men. They agreed to go on with the work in the morning if they were furnished with sufficient men, and Mr. Caven promised to meet this deficiency. When the labor meeting gathered that evening there were nearly five hundred desperate men assembled, needing but the tongue of an anarchist to drive them to any act of folly. It was a critical period, more serious than the citizens imagined. The township trustee could give no more aid, and municipal funds were at a low ebb. In the stormy speeches which followed the crowd was urged to commit bloodshed, if necessary, for they must have food. Finally, they decided to march to the Governor the next morning and make a last appeal; if this was useless they would loot the stores. In the midst of the scene Mayor Caven entered the room alone. It was an act of bravery, and with difficulty could he gain a hearing. When the uproar had ceased he told the people they could go to work tomorrow morning, and requested order and obedience. It was a scene to be remembered, this sudden transition from hopelessness to surety. Men laughed and cried, they shouted and sang, and it was a glorious moment to the man who stood among

them, alone, the man who had been true to his ~~affair~~ saved the people. Then the mayor said ~~no one~~ ~~st~~ bed hungry that night, and asked the people to follow he would look after them. Out in the darkness ~~and~~ street the crowd followed their leader. Several ~~had~~ visited and each man was given several loaves of bread they disappeared silently down the street and every quiet. It was the passing of a crisis.

"This is the story of the formation of the Belt Rail-Stockyards Company and it is evident that Mayor Cavanah who deserves very great credit for this work, ~~who~~ honor to himself and to the city. As to the results ~~which~~ from this undertaking, there is only one word which ~~sees~~ the purpose—stupendous. Nothing has paid so well or ~~so~~ great value as a single enterprise. Starting with a ~~30~~ 30 cents on a dollar, each year saw a rise in the percentage 1879 and 1880 the cash dividends were 10 per cent. on ~~th~~ of the stock and in 1881 stock sold for \$1.50. One of the ~~li~~ liest stockholders, paid \$15,000 for \$50,000 stock and by 1894 received \$10,000 in dividends; two years later he sold his ~~s~~ for \$75,000 cash." * * *

BRIEF SKETCHES AND NOTES.

From various sources, among them a series of sketches of Indianapolis railroads written by Mr. John H. Holliday and published in the *Indianapolis Sentinel* in 1869 (see dates May 22, June 24, August 2, August 5 and August 25), we gather these additional items of information:

The Indianapolis and Lawrenceburgh.—This road (afterward known as the I., C. & L.), as has been stated, antedated in its actual beginnings every other Indiana road, but it was not completed to Indianapolis until 1853. Its difficulties and the character and effects of the opposition to it on the part of the M. & L. road would make an interesting chapter of our early railroad history, but the data for it seem to be lost now. We find just enough evidence to show that there was much illegitimate opposition, which was made effective by the aid of the State. By the Lawrenceburgh newspaper files of 1835 we find that the L. & L. Company, that had secured the charter for the road in 1832,^{*}

^{*}Holloway's Indianapolis gives the date of the first railroad charter as February, 1831. A reference to the statutes would have shown the writer that it was 1832.

is still alive and active. On July 23 of that year ground was broken at Lawrenceburgh with the accompaniment of a barbecue and public demonstration (see *Palladium* for July 25). There were letters from Henry Clay, O. H. Smith and others, and many feasts. Major J. P. Dunn was prominent in the festivities. It is worthy of note that the *Rising Sun Times* of contemporary State and correspondents to its columns were hostile to the whole scheme of the road, their animosity, seemingly, arising from the idea that the State was going to subsidize it at the expense of other sections. Its final completion, affording a connection with Cincinnati, was a most important commercial benefit, and no other road, perhaps, conduced more to the decadence of the Madison route. The *Indianapolis Journal* for December 19, 1853, says: "The freighting business on this new route is exceeding the most sanguine predictions of its projectors. The receipts for freight alone have been more than one thousand dollars per day for some time past. One day this week ninety-five cars arrived at Lawrenceburgh full of freight. More cars are being built and every care taken to push forward freight without delay." The receipts of the road the first year were \$299,433.66, and the second year this was nearly doubled. In the tables of tonnage we find corn, wheat, oats, rye and barley, iron, coal, lumber, staves, hoopoles, stone, stock, flour, whisky, salt and pork.

The Jeffersonville Road.—If the Lawrenceburgh road swallowed up a large part of the business previously enjoyed by the M. & I., the Jeffersonville line took another part and did still worse, for it finally swallowed up the M. & I. itself. Before it accomplished that anaconda feat, however, it had to wage a long and determined fight. Its original charter, wherein it was designated as the Ohio & Indiana Railroad Company, dates back to 1832. In common with the other roads then chartered, this project lay dormant for a long time. In 1837 it was saved from total extinction by a renewal of its charter with certain amendments, and again in 1846 by another renewal. This last charter authorized a capital of \$1,000,000, divided into shares of \$100 each, \$100,000 of which must be subscribed before the company could be organized. The time limit was thirteen months. Nothing was consummated. In 1848 the projectors again got together

and secured a more liberal charter, extending the time limit five years and giving authority to extend the line not merely to Columbus, as had been previously granted, but to any other point in the State that might be desired—which was a very important concession, as Indianapolis was the desired terminus. At this period the potential energy that had kept the thing breathing through these years showed signs of real life. The \$100,000 was raised, the company organized, with William C. Armstrong, of Jeffersonville, as president, and in October of 1848 twenty-two miles of the road was put under contract.* By August of 1852 the fifty-two miles between Jeffersonville and Rockford was completed and put in operation, and soon after it reached Columbus, where it met the M. & I., and the real conflict between the two roads began. Mr. John W. Ray, in a contribution to the Indiana Centennial Association, thus speaks of the relations between them at this point:

“John Brough was the president of the Madison & Indianapolis railroad. He was brainy and strong-willed, and equally so was Armstrong. When the Jeffersonville road was nearing Columbus, Armstrong was anxious to form connection with the other road, and arranged the time-tables to this end. Brough changed his, and when the Jeffersonville train hove in sight it was only to see the other departing.”

The sequel was that Armstrong simply headed for Indianapolis, building his road parallel with the M. & I., and only a few yards away. By the time he reached Edinburg the M. & I., presumably, concluded that a control of the rest of the route was better than a division of the same. At any rate a compromise was effected by the laying of a switch between the two tracks and the Jeffersonville traffic passed over it. By this time the M. & I. had passed its heyday, its stock was depreciating, and the astute rival road was quietly buying up the same. To quote Mr. Ray again: “When the next election of the board of directors was held, the Jeffersonville Railroad Company elected a majority of the board, and the Madison & Indianapolis railroad was shortly after consolidated into the Jeffersonville, Madison & Indianapolis Railroad Company, and William G. Armstrong became president thereof.” This consolidation took place in

*In 1849 the name was changed to the Jeffersonville Railroad Company.

1866. The J., M. & I. was a particularly important road during the Civil War, it being the route for conveyance of troops and supplies to the South. During that period its carrying capacity was taxed to the utmost.

The Bellefontaine & Indianapolis.—This road, afterward known as the C., C., C. & I., and now as the Big Four, was among the most important of the early lines, particularly as it was the first to give Indianapolis an outlet to the East and to deflect trade in that direction. Says Mr. Holliday, in the *Sentinel* articles we have cited: "It is impossible to estimate the advantage this road has been to Indianapolis. For several years a great deal of the stock of the Bellefontaine company was owned here, and the road was run directly in the interest of the city. * * * But the great benefit conferred by the road has been in the large amount of travel and business brought through here, and which has, in one way and another, done much to build up the city." Its chief projector was Oliver H. Smith, who was its first president. Begun in 1848, it was by 1850 in operation as far as Pendleton, and was the second road running out of Indianapolis. Two years later it reached Union City, there making connection with an Ohio road and with points eastward. Prior to that it was a feeder to the Madison road, but afterward a formidable commercial rival.

The Peru & Indianapolis.—This road, the third that reached out from Indianapolis, was running to Noblesville by the spring of 1851 and reached Peru in 1854. Of it Mr. Holliday says: "Traversing, at first, a stretch of wilderness, and though a poorly constructed road with a history of repeated reverses, it yet helped materially to build up the country through which it ran. In its earlier days it brought into Indianapolis immense quantities of lumber, and, at a later day, much grain and produce." The Madison road, in its various attempts at self-preservation, effected a consolidation with the Peru soon after the completion of the latter, on the theory that a through route from the Ohio river to the Wabash & Erie canal, and thence by water to Lake Erie and the East would put it on a footing with its victorious rivals; but the merger did not work smoothly, and dissolved before long.

The Terre Haute & Indianapolis.—The Terre Haute & Richmond, as it was originally called, the next Indianapolis road to go into operation, was intended, as the name implies, to cross the State and connect the two cities mentioned. The original idea, as said on a previous page, was to establish a link in a through route that should, without break, reach from St. Louis to Cincinnati. On May 12, 1847, a railroad convention was held at Indianapolis attended by delegates from various counties in this State and from Ohio and Illinois, the object being to stir up this scheme for a trunk line. In addition to the consideration of the road from Terre Haute to Richmond, steps were taken to urge action on the part of Ohio, and a committee was appointed to memorialize the Illinois legislature for the passage of an act granting right of way through that State. One fatal obstacle to the consummation of the plan at this time, it is claimed, was the indifference and lack of support over the route between Indianapolis and Richmond. At any rate, the actual project, so far as Indiana was concerned, settled down to the Terre Haute & Indianapolis road, a brief sketch of which has been furnished us by Mr. W. H. Ragan, now of Washington City. Says Mr. Ragan:

"The people of Terre Haute, headed by the late Chauncy Rose, desiring to be put in easier communication with the State capital, agitated the question of a railroad to Indianapolis, and a company was formed, with Chauncy Rose as its president, to construct this road. With this beginning, some Indianapolis men were approached, including the late E. J. Peck. The latter became deeply interested in the undertaking, and soon after was elected president of the company, which position he held for a number of years. These preliminaries occupied several years. The first officers of the company, as I recall them, were: President, Chauncy Rose; vice-president, E. J. Peck; chief engineer, Thomas A. Morris. The country lying between Terre Haute and Indianapolis was an almost unbroken wilderness, the settlements were separated by extensive and gloomy forests, and only a few villages were scattered along the line of the National Road. The railroad left this latter highway at Plainfield, from which point to Greencastle but a few settlements were to be found, and beyond that place for a number of miles conditions were even worse. The locating of the road was a slow and tedious process,

several surveys being made before the present line was finally established.

“Vice-President Peck, always faithful, never abandoned the corps of engineers. He accompanied them through their task, and when it was completed no one understood better than he just what obstacles were yet to be encountered and overcome. He had made the acquaintance of many residents along the line, fully understood each one's attitude toward the undertaking and knew whether he would grant the right of way through his possessions or obstruct to the bitter end, as many did, the building of the road. In this way he prepared himself for the troubles and litigation to follow. Then railroads could not make terms with property owners, as they can now, for right of way by condemnation proceedings. Concessions must be through compromise or by litigation. The latter was often resorted to and not infrequently an obstreperous land-owner forced the engineer, in order to avoid further difficulties, to deviate from his chosen line, by making a detour around the contested premises. In this way a road that should have been built as an air line, at least from Indianapolis to Greencastle, now has many annoying and dangerous curves in it. It was but natural for at least some of the farmers of that day to doubt the sincerity of the company in carrying out its undertaking. Some seemed to think the project too stupendous ever to be accomplished; others that the resources of the country were too limited to support such an undertaking.”

The Terre Haute & Indianapolis was opened for through business in February of 1852. Its receipts for the first year were \$105,943.87, and within sixteen years its business multiplied ten times, its agricultural tonnage being swelled by an increasing carriage of coal. It is said to have been the first railroad in the State to issue bonds.

The Indiana Central.—The “Panhandle,” as this road was subsequently called, now the P., C., C. & St. L., was the fulfilment of the old Terre Haute & Richmond idea, and followed it in such short time after the failure of the first company to push it through that the charge of indifference on the part of residents along the route could hardly have been true. It was begun in 1851 and completed in 1853, being the second to establish

(through Cincinnati) a connection with the East. It traversed one of the best sections of the State and was no small factor in developing that section, as well as Indianapolis.

Other Roads.—The Lafayette road, finished in 1852, was of special service to Indianapolis as a connecting link between the Ohio river and Chicago. It was consolidated with the Cincinnati road in 1866. The "Junction" road, or C., H. & D., though begun in 1850, did not connect with Indianapolis till the late sixties. The Vincennes road reached here about the same time after a nominal existence of many years. This concludes the group of Indianapolis roads up to that date.

Names and Nicknames of Railroads.—Forty to sixty years ago there was something of a tendency to saddle railroads with sounding names that were grandiose, often, in proportion to the insignificance of the road. A writer in the *Indianapolis Press* for July 30, 1900, gives some of these samples of imposing verbiage. Some of the roads never existed except on paper. Such was the "Atlantic & Great Western," which was to run "all the way from Vincennes to Indianapolis," and the "American Central," which had a terminus in Ft. Wayne, and then, according to its articles of association, "wandered through the woods across the State and lost itself some place on the prairies of Illinois." The "Brazil, Bowling Green & Bloomfield, Northern & Southern Central Railway" was to be forty-six miles long, and the "Anburn & Eel River Valley" was to be twenty-four miles. A reversion to this verbal bolstering may be traced in the present "Chicago & Southeastern," which "does not go near Chicago and runs southwest." It was formerly known as the "Midland," and was famous among all the "jerk-water" roads of the State for its equipment and its ridiculous attempts to be a sure-enough railroad. In more recent times there has been a quite contrary tendency to brief nicknames, having usually some appropriate significance, and we have the "Big Four" (from the four big cities connected, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis), the "Panhandle," the "Air Line," the "Clover Leaf," the "Nickel Plate," etc. The "Bee Line" of a generation ago, at first the Bellefontaine, was perhaps the first instance of this

ind of nomenclature. As an instance of facetious nicknaming, it is said that the Cambridge City branch of the J., M. & I., was once called the "Calico Road," because the workmen on it were paid in dry goods.

Early Railroad Equipment.—The first railroads in Indiana (except the first twenty-eight miles of the M. & I., which had imported "T" rails) were laid with "strap rails," which were simply bars of iron, about two and a half inches wide by five-eighths thick. These were spiked down to the wooden rails, as they were sometimes called, or continuous lines of oak stringers perhaps six inches square. Being secured near the inner edge of the stringers and the corner of the timber being chamfered off, the flanges of the wheels could not groove the wood. The stringers rested on cross-ties three or four feet apart, to which they were secured by strong wooden pins driven through auger-holes, and the ties, in turn, were supported by heavy timbers, or "mud-sills" which, laid end to end and bedded in the earth, afforded a foundation for the whole structure.* Other forms of construction were employed in some parts of the country, but, so far as we have been able to learn, the mode described was the only one in Indiana prior to the changes that came with improvements. The rolling stock was equally primitive. A locomotive, having at first neither cow-catcher nor cab,† weighed perhaps from ten to thirteen tons, as against the seventy-five or one hundred tons of to-day, and was capable of hauling twelve or fifteen cars holding three tons each. Twenty miles an hour for passenger trains was a high rate of speed. There is record, in 1840, of an engine drawing 221 tons forty miles in three hours and forty-one minutes. The development of the locomotive was retarded by the frail character of the tracks, as their weight crushed the yielding flat bar into the wood and loosened the spikes. The strain, moreover, very frequently caused the loosened rails to curl upward at the ends, threatening punctures and derailment, and these "snake-heads," as they were called, had to be constantly guarded against. A

*Query: Did the general use of "mud-sills" in railroad construction give rise to the colloquial term as applied to the man who belongs to the sub-stratum of society?

†The innovation of a protecting cab was at first objected to by the enginemen, as a dangerous trap in case of accident.

not uncommon occurrence was the stopping of trains till trainmen went ahead with a sledge-hammer to spike down rails. There were other causes of delay not down on the schedule among them being the stoppage at some wayside stream or pond to replenish the water supply by dipping up with leather buckets that were carried on hooks at the side of the tender. It is a plausible guess that from this job of the trainmen originated the humoristic appellation of "jerk-water," so commonly applied to cheap and out-of-date roads. It may be added that locomotives were once universally named as steamboats are to-day, thus "General Morris," "Reuben Wells," "Dillard Rickets," etc., thus illustrating the old custom of doing honor to men of note in the railroad world.

Railroad Mileage.—The railroad mileage in Indiana at various periods, according to the census reports of 1890, was: 1860, 2,163; 1870, 3,177; 1880, 4,373; 1886, 5,711.96; 1887, 5,798.94; 1888, 5,890.26; 1889, 6,003.76; 1890, 6,090.66. The census abstract for 1900 gives no statistics of steam railways.

In closing this we may add the following from a work on railways (Tuck's) issued in 1847: "In 1824 the first locomotive traveled at the rate of six miles per hour; in 1829 the 'Rocket' traveled at the rate of fifteen miles per hour; in 1834 the 'Fire-fly' attained the speed of twenty miles per hour; in 1839 the 'North Star' moved with a velocity of thirty-seven miles per hour, and at the present moment locomotives have attained the speed of seventy miles per hour." We have elsewhere seen it recorded that as early as 1850 trains had attained a speed of sixty miles an hour—a somewhat astonishing fact considering the crude form of the locomotive at that period. We have nowhere seen any statement as to such speed on Indiana roads, and, as said above, twenty miles per hour seems to have been regarded as a high rate of speed.

Errata and Omissions.—The date of the first work on the L. & I. railroad, given on page 152 should read 1834 instead of 1854. To the list of important lines mentioned on page 159 should be added the Ohio & Mississippi, which in 1857 became a completed

link in a continuous line that reached from Baltimore to St. Louis, "then the longest stretch of railroad track in the world." The completion of the three lines making this route—the Baltimore & Ohio, the Marietta & Cincinnati and the Ohio & Mississippi—was the occasion of a great railroad celebration. The first train over the road was a "Celebration Train," which was filled with railroad and government dignitaries and was greeted with much bunting and noise at all the towns along the way. The event was so notable as to call forth a good-sized illustrated book descriptive of the trip, which volume can be found in the State Library. Among the immediate influences of the railroads should be mentioned the first State fair, held at Indianapolis in 1852. The convenience of transportation afforded by them made possible something larger than the local fairs that had previously existed. The 1,365 entries in this fair came from all over the State, and some of them from other States, and they presented an industrial exhibit such as the westerners had never seen before and such as was hardly possible under the old systems of transportation.

GEO. S. COTTMAN.

FIRST CANAL SURVEYS.

SINCE our article on early canals (published in September issue), we have learned from a gazetteer of 1826 that at that early date a letter of instruction had been issued from the United States Engineering Department for the survey of four canal routes in the State of Indiana, as follows: 1. To unite the waters of Lake Michigan with the Wabash river, by the way of the St. Joseph river valley. 2. The uniting of the Wabash and White rivers by way of the Mississinewa or the "Poucanpicheax" valley. 3. The uniting of the rivers at Ft. Wayne with the Ohio river by way of the Whitewater valley. 4. A canal "to turn the Falls of the Ohio near Jeffersonville." In accordance with these instructions, the engineers, says the gazetteer, "commenced their examinations on the Whitewater route on the 8th of July, 1826." Whether anything was ever done on surveys 1 and 2 we have not learned. The letter, as indicating a canal movement at that date, adds an item to the history of the subject.

PIONEER LIFE.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

PAPER NO. IV.

Clothing of the Pioneers; the Deerskin and Its Uses; Picturesque Costumes—Home-made Fabrics: Linsey and Jeans—Dye-stuffs Used—Butternut, Walnut and Indigo—The Styles of Garments—Pioneer Finery; Ladies and Gentlemen of the Old School—The Quaker Costumes—Footwear; the Introduction of the Boot—The Surtout, Cloak and Shawl—A Traveling Outfit—Superstitions.

DEERSKIN, tanned either with or without the hair, was much in use among the early settlers of Henry county for pantaloons, hunting shirts and moccasins, as well as for gloves and mittens. It is possible that the old rollicking song of

"Leather breeches, full of stitches,
Leather breeches, buttons on," etc.

was inspired by the old backwoods article of clothing wrought from "the red deer's tawny skin."

A well-tanned and well-made suit of buckskin gave the wearer a rather neat and jaunty appearance that had a very evident touch of aboriginal taste and elegance. The hunting shirt, which could be worn as an outer garment, either with or without a vest, was often made to fit closely and fasten about the waist with a belt, though sometimes it was worn without a belt. It was made more picturesque by heavy fringing around the edges made by cutting the buckskin into thin strings, and occasionally a lover of primitive finery had his shirt and moccasins ornamented with beads and brightly colored porcupine quills by Indian women. The average deerskin uniform was tanned and made by some man in the neighborhood who had some skill in that line of work. They were sewed with thongs of leather or sinews, and would, with ordinary care, last for years. Such a suit was very warm if thoroughly dry, but when wet was distressingly uncomfortable and cold. After wetting, these buckskins had a way of shrinking that was the reverse of pleasant

to the wearer as the nether garment crept upward toward his knees and the shirt contracted about his middle.* This liability to shrinkage made the washing of such a suit a difficult undertaking, but it was effected by a method of manipulation, pounding and stretching applied to the drying leather. In dry, cold weather the deerskin moccasins with warm woollen socks inside made excellent footwear for out-of-doors service, but in soft snow or wet weather they were worse than useless.

Suits similar to those of deerskin in cut and make were wrought from the brown or blue jeans, or linseys, the hunting-shirt being similarly ornamented with fringes. The dye-stuffs most used by the pioneers were from the hulls of the black or white walnuts and the inner barks of certain trees. In some parts of the State the darker browns of the black walnut prevailed, in other parts the tawny tints of the white walnut or butternut. Henry county was a black walnut province. The more aristocratic color—the color for Sunday and special occasion suits—was indigo-blue, and the woman who knew how to manage the indigo in solution so as to produce the best results was in great demand among those who aspired to handsome clothes. Prepared indigo was an article of commerce, and for sale at the village stores, but some of the settlers' wives raised their own plants and manufactured the dyes for home use. Other dyes were made from madder and copperas, maple bark and copperas, etc. These were made to alternate with the blues and browns in striping and checking the linseys. Cloths and stockings of a single color were often dyed after the weaving, but the better and surer way was to dye them in the yarn.

The early wearing apparel was, mostly, rough and coarse, and not very tastefully made. The principal requirement was to be warm in winter and as cool as possible in summer without much regard to appearance. All the boys and girls and many of the men and women went barefooted from early spring to late autumn, while the small child who was provided with a tow shirt that hung straight from the shoulders to the heels was thought to be sufficiently clad for the warmer seasons. The boys, when they

*An old-time story is to the effect that one of the early school teachers seated himself behind his desk in wet buckskins and did not rise or straighten himself out until they had dried upon him. He then found himself encased as in a suit of tin, with no provisions for joints.—*Editor*.

were put into pantaloons, had them full length, like their fathers except that they were made several sizes too large, for the wearer was expected to grow up to them and even outgrow them before they would be worn out. But the drollest effect was produced when the boy of larger growth donned his first real "Sunday-go-to-meeting" and visiting suit. It was also of brown blue jeans, better woven and more carefully made than his earlier pants and roundabout had been, but like them overlarge all its parts. The trousers dragged and folded over his cowhide shoes, bagged at the knees and in the seat, and, in common with the vest, had sufficient girth for two boys, while the coat hung loose at the shoulders and elbows and was turned up at the wrists. A round-crowned, stiff-rimmed wool hat completed a picture of discomfort, self-consciousness, awkwardness and greenness. When trying to be on his best behavior for the gratification of his proud parents he was at his worst in the matter of appearance, and the joy connected with the display was when he was allowed to slip out of his fine raiment and back into his well-worn every-day togs, where he felt easy and at home. The girls suffered much in the same way, and were made old in appearance by the long skirts of their striped linsey or red flannel frocks.

The roundabout or tailless coat was to the backwoods small boy what the "warmus" or, as it was usually called, "waumus," was to the men, except that it was a much neater article of apparel. Not infrequently it was worn by men. The waumus was made with or without a belt for the waist. Usually it was made like a shirt, and it could be worn as such or over the vest and pants as a coat. The material for it was either red flannel or linsey, plain or striped. It was the lineal successor of the hunting-shirt, as the "sweater" of to-day is of the waumus, and was admirably suited to the needs of the pioneer.

The frock and habit were the chief outer garments of the women. In both, skirt and body were attached to each other, making one garment. The fastenings were hooks and eyes or ordinary brass pins for the habits and buttons for the frocks, which latter fastened at the backs. For a good while silks, worsteds, and even the better linens and cotton cloths, were scarce and high priced, but yet women of the more prosperous neighborhoods were seldom without one or more gowns of bet-

er material than their own skill could provide. Such dresses were reserved for great occasions and were treasured with care. The home-made materials for women's wear were usually reinforced by purchases of calicoes, muslins, bobinets, and the like. All the elderly women wore caps. These were of various materials, from gaily decorated calico to bobinets and fine book muslins and cambrics. Babies also wore caps of similar material, but not all of them could afford the regulation long skirts that even then seemed almost a necessity to early juvenile existence. In the linseys and flannels of home manufacture there was much display of color, particularly of red, gray, brown and blue, and even in underwear these colors were woven in according to the fancy of the wearer. The tuck and ruffle were much in evidence for relieving the monotony of a plain raiment, and there was more or less evidence of a "fancy" taste, not only in feminine but in masculine circles. The "dude" or dandy was not unknown, and such a one arrayed in summer coat, pants and vest made of prettily figured fabrics, occasionally flashed upon backwoods society. It used to be charged, even, that the dandies of a neighboring county wore calico pantaloons with the legs profusely ruffled, but this, doubtless, was the satire of envy or disapproval.

Turning from the typical backwoodsman to the professional and the well-to-do classes that became more numerous as the country grew, we find a costuming more picturesque than that which has followed it. With this class the swallow-tail coat was as common as the straight-breasted "shad-belly" among the Quakers. This garment, made of blue fuller's cloth or broadcloth (though sometimes made of blue jeans), with trousers and vest of the same, was double-breasted and radiant with a glittering array of brass buttons, and imparted grandeur and dignity to the "gentleman of the old school." Its accompaniment was a majestic "bell-crowned" beaver hat, and a black silk stock or "choker" over stiff buckram swathed his neck, holding up his chin with painful stateliness. This "glass of fashion" was a familiar figure to our fathers.

The women of this class wore capes, mantles and shawls of various patterns and materials. The long cloak of ample folds and the large shawls were mostly in favor for the colder season.

These were, in the earlier day, made from the softer part of the fibres of the local spinners and weavers upon warps of a coarse to give the fabric greater strength. Within a year, however, the merchants began to carry stocks of shawls of many colors, subdued or gay, that took the place of home-made articles. These ranged in size from the neat little shawl forshaw, to those that a woman could wrap herself in to defy the storm and cold. The younger women preferred soft flowing grays or browns, and a distinguishing feature of the attire was a neat scarf or cape of these colors supplemented a neatly-folded white cambric handkerchief at the throat. There were no ruffles or flounces upon their skirts, and the figures as well as the hues were delicate and in good taste. They eschewed jewelry except, perhaps, a modest throat pin. Their bonnets for public wear were made of silk wrought upon buckram frames in the quaint fashion of the mothers of the sect in England, and in colors were soft grays for the younger women, darker grays and browns for the middle-aged and shiny black for the old. As the fashions did not change, two or three silk bonnets lasted through a lifetime. A familiar dress bonnet among women (other than Friends) was one of Leghorn straw with a flaring front-piece and a curiously-placed crown, the whole resembling an inverted coal-scuttle, decked out with brightly-colored ribbons and artificial flowers. Fashions did not change much in Henry county from year to year during the first two decades of its history, but by 1845 variations in styles and cuts began to be more frequent, and since 1850 they have kept pace with the changes in other things. The introduction of factory goods relieved not a little the absorbing tasks of the women. Before 1840 denims came in to take the place of tow and home-woven linen, and "brown Holland," a kind of finer linen, came into vogue for men's better summer suits. The boot for men and boys was introduced after the opening of the country, when muddy roads and fields made them a necessity, and they were worn almost universally for many years, or until drainage and a drier surface caused a partial reversion to shoes.

One article of apparel that seemed to belong especially to the old-time gentleman was the blue or black cloth cloak, made with or without a cape and with collars of silk velvet. They were

fastened at the throat with a large, ornamental hook and eye of bronze or silver, or with a cord, button and tassel. The body of the garment was of French broadcloth or a cloth of French weave made exclusively for cloaks. For bad or stormy weather the "surtout," or over-all-coat, was used, but for all occasions when a light, stylish upper garment was desirable the cloak was the thing. At a later date the shawl had its day as a gentleman's upper garment, but its fitness as such was never so obvious as that of the cloak or topcoat, and ere long it made its final exit.

Old-Time Travelers and Taverns.—When the old-time traveler prepared for a journey, he tallowed up his shoes until they shone, and protected his legs between the shoe-tops and the knees by wrapping green baize leggings about them, tying the same with green strings. He donned his "surtout," or cloak, or made it into a roll to be strapped tightly behind the saddle, and, if the weather demanded, substituted a coonskin cap for the customary "plug." Indispensable adjuncts to the outfit were the bulging leather saddle-bags, equivalent to the "grip" of the modern traveler. This double pouch, which lay across the saddle, could be made to hold almost anything, from a change of apparel to a box of Moffett's anti-bilious pills; from a bottle of whisky or tansy bitters for warding off ague to an extra set of horseshoes. Gentlemen always shaved themselves in those days, and the inevitable part of the outfit was a wooden shaving box with a mirror about the size of a Spanish silver dollar in the lid, and a brush of hog's bristles, together with a mottled cake of sassafras soap.

One class of early settlers always avoided the public houses, and, relying upon Hoosier hospitality, inquired by the way for the houses of members of their church or for people of repute for open-handedness known to have spare beds. Such folks would ride to the farthest corner of the State and back again with less expense than they could stay at home. Others, however, among whom were most of the lawyers, doctors, business men and the more prosperous farmers, stopped at the old-time taverns. He who entered one of these generous hostleries from the discomforts of a hard ride through mud and rain, experienced to the fullest the pleasures of tavern hospitality. He was made wel-

come to a seat beside the cheery open fire. A boy stripped his leggings, took his great-coat and hat and bore them to be dried. His shoes were also taken off to be brushed blacked up, and in lieu of them a pair of "poms" supplied along with a glass of something warm to "take off the chills." The "pomp" was a slipper minus the counter which encases the heel, into which the foot could be easily thrust, and though the heel of the pomp flapped loosely on the floor with every step the wearer, it served very well as a protection and was a comfortable substitute for the wet shoe. Every well-patronized tavern had a closetful of this cheap but convenient footwear.

Superstitions.—If a horse tangled its mane and twisted it in loops by rubbing against the stall, it was said to have been ridden by witches. Eggs that would not hatch, cream that would not churn and children that had fits were thought of as "bewitched" and some person in the neighborhood, usually an old woman was sure to be brought under suspicion as the cause. Belief in spells and power with the evil one also prevailed with many. Negroes were often regarded as possessing mysterious powers, such as the ability to foretell the weather, tell fortunes and effect wonderful cures. The charm doctor existed, and was consulted by sufferers from all sorts of ills, both mental and physical, despite frequent and flagrant dupings. The people themselves practiced a great many spells and charms. They sold their warts or drove them away by rubbing over them notched sticks and hiding or burning the sticks. Some carried buckeyes in their pockets to keep off rheumatism, while others carried potatoes for the same purpose. If a teamster cut himself he smeared the ax or knife with tar from the spindle of his wagon. Asafetida, catnip, southernwood, chamomile and certain other herbs were supposed to ward off contagious diseases if worn about the person. A cure for epilepsy or falling sickness was to split the body of a standing shellbark hickory tree, wedging it far apart, and passing the body of the patient three times through the opening. The wedges were then knocked out, and if the parts grew together the cure was assured. Cows that were poisoned by eating buckeye leaves were jolted on the forehead with the square end of a fence rail or pole. These superstitions were common among the more ignorant in early days.

INDIANAPOLIS IN 1843—A HENRY WARD BEECHER LETTER.

WE ARE indebted to Mr. W. H. Ragan, of Washington, D. C., for a copy of this interesting letter, which was originally published in Hovey's *Magazine of Horticulture*, of Boston, Mass. It contains information not to be found elsewhere, both as to horticulture in Indiana and conditions in Indianapolis at an early day. We have omitted an unimportant preliminary paragraph.

“In this State we have an area a little more than four times greater than Massachusetts. There are eighteen nurseries, whose proprietors are chiefly supported by their sales. Apple trees sell for ten, and pear for twenty cents. An orchard is to be found upon almost every farm, and lately the pear has been more than ever sought after. At our October fair [county fair] was exhibited the greatest variety of fruits and flowers ever exhibited in this State—perhaps I may say in the West. From fifty-five to sixty varieties of apples were shown, and forty-three new seedling apples competed for a premium. A branch of the R. I. Greening was exhibited, two feet in length, bearing fifteen apples, weighing 12 lbs. 9 oz. I send you a brief account of the fair, enclosed in some other papers. You will see a beet mentioned, weighing thirty-two lbs. You will also see three seedling apples named and recommended for cultivation—Tariff, Red Jacket, and Osceola—the first two, capital fall apples, the last supposed to be a first-rate late winter apple. Those which we have are not yet ripe (January 24), nor at all fit for eating. The number of seedling apples in this State is very great, and some of them, in the neighborhood in which they grow, are esteemed more highly by the settlers than the old standard fruits. The soil and climate so modify the flavor and other qualities of the apple that there is some reason for believing that an apple originated on any given soil, will be better than many which are introduced into it; for though the apple is raised with great facility in almost every soil, yet it is probable that each variety affects a particular one and will refuse its most perfect qualities

to all except that one. Thus, I perceive, the most popular apples of New England are natives—the R. I. Greening, Hubbard Nonsuch, Roxbury Russett, Baldwin, Minster, etc. The chief apples of the middle States are natives of them, and to a considerable extent this is becoming true of the West.

"The annual meeting of our society is held during the winter that the greater number of citizens from abroad during sessions of our courts and legislatures may be reached and interested in this subject. I shall send you the reports, address and proceedings of our winter meeting as soon as they are published. I omitted to mention that on selling the fruit last October, great competition arose for the pears, and they sold at 12½, 25 and 50 cents apiece, many of them. I obtained the only specimen of the Duchesse d'Angouleme (the first I believe which has ripened in the State) for the moderate price of 62½ cents. I am afraid I should have doubled the bid rather than have lost her ladyship and if all duchesses are of equal worth commend me to the society. I need not say I was 'somewhat filled' with her company. It was not a dear bargain in the sequel, for the gentleman who raised it was so much pleased with my enthusiasm for his favorite that he presented me a tree of the same kind, and one of the Beurre d'Aremberg.

"You will perceive, when you obtain the report of our winter meeting, that a premium of fifty dollars is offered for seedling apples, other premiums to encourage gardens, the obtaining of choice fruit trees, introduction of hardy shrubs and flowers, etc. Our great design is to awaken in the body of the people—among farmers, artisans and men of small means—a taste for fruit and flowers, and to fill the State, from the beginning, with the most select varieties. The peach, plum, cherry, apple, pear, quince, apricot, and small fruits might search through our land and find no better soil and climate for their perfection than that of Indiana. Our variable springs are almost the only obstacle. Long summers, brilliantly clear atmosphere, great warmth, and dryness during the fall ripening months, give our fruit great size, color, and flavor. If the mass of the community take hold earnestly, amateur cultivators will spring up of themselves. As it is I remember very few gardens in Massachusetts, except near large cities, which could compare with ten or twenty in this town (Indianapolis is a town of about the size of Northampton).

“In going to Terre Haute last summer I stopped at a small, poverty-stricken little town called Mt. Meridian; shabby houses, huts and hovels, pale faces and ragged children gave no great expectation of refinements. Putting up at the best tavern (at the West, no matter how small the town, there are always from two to five or even eight taverns to choose among), I soon retired to bed as the easiest way of reaching next morning. On rising and going into the rear of the building for washing water (we are always allowed to help ourselves in such trifles), I found the well standing in the middle of a very beautiful little flower garden—neat beds full of flowers, cleaned walks, trimmed borders. I could hardly trust my eyes. From the rear of the grounds I could almost throw a stone into the primeval forests, whose fragments yet lingered in parts of the garden; and the house was itself poorer than many a barn which I have seen in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. Opening a rude wicket gate, I entered a spot of nearly an acre, well laid out and filled with the choicest vegetables, growing with the most vigorous health. Currants, raspberries (white and red Antwerp), strawberries, gooseberries, were thriving, and many select varieties of pear and apple. The whole garden bore evidence of careful cultivation and good taste. Such a spot, in such a town, and behind such a house, surrounded and almost overshadowed by the forest, and produced, not by wealth, but by the personal labor of one man, poor and advanced in life, delighted me more, I do believe, than would the grounds of the London Horticultural Society. If every county in our State had one such citizen I should not fear for horticultural interests in our State. The best assortment of seeds and plants which our town will afford shall be at the service of such a cultivator the coming spring.

“You will be pleased to learn that many of the pears which have given out in New England do well as yet with us. The St. Michael (or fall butter, as it is called here), thrives and bears excellently well, though Kenrick, following Fessenden, says that in New England it is ‘an outcast, intolerable even to the sight.’ The specimens at our fall fair could hardly be surpassed.

“A number of public-spirited gentlemen have associated, to plant all the private streets in this town with shade trees. We shall select from the ample stock of our own forests, mostly.

But it is proposed to put in a number of pear and plum trees—the first being a beautiful shaped tree as well as fruitful, and the plum, it is thought, will be free from the curculio, planted upon a highway. In the three squares upon which stand the State House, Court House, and Governor's House, it is proposed to gather and plant a specimen of all our forest trees.

"This reminds me of an incident in our early town history related to me by one of the first settlers. A large circle of nearly four acres was reserved in the center of the town and the native trees, sugar maples, left standing upon it. Under these trees, before churches were built, religious meetings were held in summer, and the prospect was that our town would have an adornment of this little grove which no architecture can bestow. One morning, however, he was attracted thither by the sound of an axe, and found one of the leading lawyers of the place exercising himself, as a preparation for breakfast, in felling one of the largest trees. It was too far cut to be saved. And so good an example could not be lost upon others. One by one these magnificent trees disappeared. Now we have a huge yellow brick building in the center of this circle; about a dozen locusts, with stems half as large as one's wrist, have for the three last years been struggling for life until they seem weary and faint, and so stand still.

"The Court House Square, something larger than the former piece of ground, was covered with a noble growth of stately trees, and it was determined to save them. A man was set, however, to thin out the plat, and being left to his own discretion, he felled all the younger trees and left the very old and tall ones standing. As might have been expected, the first wind, finding an easy passage through, uprooted a multitude of trees, and the citizens, to save the rest from a like fate, chopped them down instantly, and happily relieved this square, too, from unpleasant shade. All is not yet told. At a later day a number of gentlemen procured an order (if I mistake not) from the county commissioners to plant out the ground with shade trees, and a large number of the locust was set. However, that nothing might break in upon the practice of the county, the jailer's cow was permitted to pasture upon the plat, and in sight of the citizens she proceeded patiently to bark the trees or break

them down, until not a single one was left. A gentleman not without a taste for horticulture, from day to day, saw, from his office door, this destruction, as he informed me with great *naivete*, as though it were a sin to interfere and save the trees. Thus, in all our towns, comes first, extermination; then come scorching summer suns, and too late the wish that the trees had been spared; and at last planting begins, and we who live amid the immense forests of a new country—on whose town plat, not fifteen years ago, grew immense oaks, maples, sycamores, beeches, tulip trees and elms—are planting the short lived locusts (*Robinia pseudo-acacia*) to obtain a speedy shade! I can think of but three forest trees now standing in this town within a space one mile square—two elms and one buckeye. The same scenes are enacting in every town which springs up at the West. We are gaining meadows, and corn bottoms, and green hillsides, and town plats, by an utter extermination of the forest. Here and there an Indian may be found lingering around the old possessions of his nation, as if to mourn their loss, and to remind us of his ancestors; but of the forest, it is almost true that not a single tree is left to recall to our minds the glory of its fellows. Indeed, I have thought that those who were obliged to clear farms or timber land, imbibe the same feelings toward trees which the pioneers have toward the Indians—as things to be destroyed, of course. This devastation of our forests the political economist regards as a blunder, and says it is an unthrifty practice, but one who looks upon trees almost as if they had souls, witnesses this needless extermination with some feelings which can not be expressed in the pound and penny language of the mere economist. I think it is Michaux who pronounces the full-grown elm to be the most magnificent production of the vegetable kingdom. Is not an old, and tall, and broad, and healthy tree nobler to the eye than any temple or cathedral? The wonder of a century's growth ends in an hour by some man who never for one single moment thinks of the majesty or beauty of his victim—who only thinks how soonest to get it down, and burned up, and out of the way of the plough.

“Respectfully yours,

“H. W. BRECHER.

“Indianapolis, Indiana, January, 1843.”

SOUTHERN INDIANA IN 1819.

AN EXCURSION INTO THE NEW PURCHASE.

From the Madison Indiana Republican, February 27, 1819.

VERNON, Feb'y 16, 1819.

GENTLEMEN:—Capt. Campbell and myself have just returned from an excursion made into the Delaware lands, and should you consider the following sketch worth an insertion in your paper for the amusement of your readers, and the information of emigrants and persons wishing to explore these lands, it will gratify some of your readers.

We travelled the new cut road from this place to Geneva (or Sandy), a new town laid out on the old Indian boundary line, about eight miles from this place in a N. W. direction. We then took a new cut road (opened to Flat Rock sufficient for waggons), which bears nearly N 45 W. The first stream we crossed after leaving Person's mill on Sandy, is called little Sandy; the second, Leatherwood; the third, Fallen Timber Creek (all appropriate names). We next passed a remarkable beaver dam, in which the ingenuity of these animals is wonderfully exhibited. The 4th stream is Flat creek, the 5th Deer creek, the 6th Crooked creek; all of which streams will answer for light machinery, and run to the S. W., the bottoms generally gravelly and water very clear. We next came to a stream by the name of Clifty, sufficient for any kind of water works, and about ten miles distant in the new purchase. I think, without exaggeration, that every quarter section that may be laid out in this ten miles, will be fit for cultivation and will be settled. The lands are of a black, sandy quality, timbered with black ash and beech principally. The general face of the country is rather inclined to a plain, with the hollows rather wet. The lands on Clifty are very rich and well timbered on both sides of the stream with blue ash, walnut, sugar tree, honey locust, beech, &c.

After crossing this stream we came to a most beautiful walnut ridge, about one and a half miles north of Clifty. We next

crossed Middle creek, then Grassy creek, then Tough creek, Stillwater and Pleasant Run, all of which are small mill streams running to the S. W., some of which have very muddy bottoms, and lie between Clifty and Flat Rock at the distance of seven miles. In this seven miles the lands are principally very rich and level, the valleys rather wet, and timbered principally with oak, black ash, walnut, sugar tree, poplar, hickory, &c, until we came to the lands immediately on Flat Rock. These lands exhibit a scenery I never expected to see in Indiana. They resemble the rich lands on the two Elkhorns in Kentucky, for richness and timber, and to appearance, abound on both sides of the stream, which has a gravel bottom and is about 80 yards wide. On the north side of this creek we found only one stream (Sugar creek) until we arrived at Driftwood [Blue river], about eight miles in a S. W. direction from where we crossed Flat Rock. The lands between these two streams are level and very dry, timbered with white oak, black oak, walnut, honey locust, underbrush, spice wood, dog wood and hazel. We found beautiful rich and level lands on both sides of Driftwood, and well timbered. The river (by counting our horses' steps) was 180 yards wide where we crossed it. I think there are very few springs in this country, but believe water may be had with very little labor. To sum up my views on the subject, I am of the opinion that if Jefferson County would make a good highway in the direction to this place, that Madison would be the key on the Ohio river to one of the best tracts of country I have seen in this State; and a delay will speedily bring forward some other point as the country is now settling. We met two families and teams on the road to this Eden.

Yours With Esteem,

JOHN VAWTER.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION OF 1851.

The "practical printers" of Madison formed themselves into a "typographical society" August 30, 1851.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Published at Indianapolis, Indiana

GEORGE S. COTTMAN, *Editor and Publisher*

EDITORIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS.

OHIO VALLEY HISTORY CONFERENCE.

Of the Central Ohio Valley History Conference, which held its first meeting at Cincinnati, November 29 and 30, Mr. Frank P. Goodwin, the secretary, writes: "We had a very profitable meeting, and I feel sure that the cause of local history in the Ohio valley has been materially advanced. A committee will prepare a program for the second meeting to be held at some place to be selected a year from now, and at that time they will report a plan of permanent organization. The committee consists of L. J. Cox, University of Cincinnati, chairman; C. L. Martzoff, Ohio University, secretary; S. B. Harding, Indiana University; W. W. Longmoor, curator of Kentucky State Historical Society; Harry B. Mackory, Filson Club and numerous patriotic societies. Virgil A. Lewis, State Historian for West Virginia; E. C. Randall, secretary of Ohio Archæological and Historical Society; A. B. Hulbert, Marietta College, and F. P. Goodwin."

INDIANA UNIVERSITY HISTORY CLUB—A NEW STATE BUILDING.

Indiana University has a history club that is, we believe, more actively interested in the question of local history than any other college club or class in the State. Under its stimulus considerable research work has been done, some of the students having written themes along this line. Through the newspaper columns we occasionally hear of the club's alertness in local matters. At a recent meeting it took time by the forelock and began the agitation of two live questions that will probably require considerable stirring before there are material results. These are, an Indiana Centennial celebration in 1916, and the erection of a building at Indianapolis in which "all the historical documents obtainable relating to the State should be placed." This latter question, in our opinion, is one of special importance. It is only a question of time till the State must

have a building of the kind suggested, and the need, indeed, is already pressing for new quarters, such as Wisconsin, Iowa and some other States have provided themselves with. The State House is now overcrowded; the State Library is growing beyond its present space; the State Museum presents and for some time has presented a case of arrested growth, and Mr. Blatchley has repeatedly been obliged to decline articles for the collection for lack of space for them; the Indiana Historical Society, which long had its room in the capitol, is now turned out of house and home, without a place other than private offices for its meetings, and with its collection partly boxed and partly in charge of the State Library. The need is for a building that shall house these, along with the Library Commission, the Academy of Science, and kindred interests, and it behooves all those who think so to get together and give what aid they can to Librarian D. C. Brown, who has already entered on the campaign.

THE HARRISON FARM NEAR CORYDON.

What is known as the Harrison place, six miles northwest of Corydon, was once, according to local tradition, the holding of William Henry Harrison. Mr. Hubbard M. Smith, the historian of Vincennes, writes to us upon that point. He thinks that General Harrison has probably been confused with Christopher Harrison. General Harrison, he points out, had his residence at Vincennes from 1801 till 1812, when he was appointed commander of the Northwest Territory, with headquarters in Ohio, and never again resided in Indiana. Christopher Harrison, on the other hand, who was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1816, resided, presumably, at or near Corydon, and his ownership of the farm in question was quite probable. This seems plausible, but it illustrates the dangers of reasoning from probabilities on obscure historical points. D. F. Lemon, in his little pamphlet on Corydon, states that General William Henry Harrison "bought of the general government, in an early day, all of section 19, township 3, south of range 3 east; also a part of section 30, township 3, south of range 3 east. This land is all in one body and contains 829.20 acres." Mr. Lemon further says: "The records in the recorder's office of Harrison county show that William Henry Harrison and his wife Anna, on the 6th day of July,

1817, deeded the land mentioned to Joshua Wilson and Abijah Bayless for the consideration of ten thousand dollars." It is not improbable, indeed, that General Harrison may have owned and improved land near Corydon and yet never have resided there.

REVOLUTIONARY GRAVES.

Names of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Indiana that have come to our knowledge since our last issue are as follow:

Rev. Jesse Vawter, of Jefferson county. Buried in the graveyard at Wirt, a few miles northwest of Madison. Died March 20, 1838, aged 82 years. Alexander C. Chambers. Ebenezer churchyard, one mile south of Kent, Jefferson county. Joel Bishop, of New Jersey. Graveyard at Canaan, Jefferson county. Died 1847. George Blake, Pisgah graveyard, Graham township, Jefferson county. Samuel Walch. Accidentally killed in the forties. Buried at Madison. James George, died near Southport, Marion county, perhaps sixty years ago. Buried at Round Hill graveyard on "Three-notch" road, about five miles south of Indianapolis. Authority, Harley Richardson, of Southport. Suel Gilbert, died November, 1843. Buried at Muncie. Authority, the *Delaware County Democrat*. Charles DePauw, died August 31, 1814. Buried in cemetery at Salem, Washington county. Stone gives his Revolutionary record.

Authority for the first five is material in possession of Miss Drusilla L. Cravens, of Madison. From this source, also, we get this interesting scrap concerning pensioners. It is from a journal of George Fitzhugh, covering the period 1838-1843:

"Have had several Revolutioners here [at Madison] for their pensions. One named Johnson, 82 years old, fought under Greene in North Carolina. A recent reform(?) has made it necessary for these poor creatures to assemble at one point in the State. Some get \$80 a year, paid semi-annually; some \$20. One poor cripple came 100 miles and received but \$10."

INDEX.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY.

VOLUME III.

	Page
Anti-Slavery Heroes of Old Newport.....	133
Archives Department of State Library.....	146
Beecher, Henry Ward, Letter from.....	189
Blockhouse Still Standing.....	194
Bolton, Sarah T.: Early Poem by, on "Indiana".....	132
Canals—Wabash & Erie, p. 101; Whitewater, p. 108; Central, p. 115; First Surveys for, p. 181.	
Centennial for 1816.....	50
Chambers, Smiley N.: The National Road.....	58
Christian, Sarah C.: John Conner.....	87
Cold Summer of 1816.....	100
Conner, John.....	87
Convention of 1816, Letter About.....	100
Dalton, Charles Test: The Belt Railroad.....	165
Documents in State House.....	146
Fletcher, Calvin: Indianapolis to Chicago in 1848.....	24
Godfroy, Gabriel, Notable Indian.....	35
Goodwin, T. A.: Trip in 1837.....	23
Harrison Farm near Corydon.....	197
Historic Spots in Indianapolis.....	46
Historical Societies.....	42, 49, 91, 99
History Conference of Central Ohio Valley.....	147, 196
Horticulture in Indiana in 1843.....	189
Huff, Dr. O. N.: Anti-Slavery Heroes of Old Newport.....	133
Indiana Historical Society and its Work, p. 42; Resolution of, Touching this Magazine, p. 91.	
Indiana, Northern in 1829.....	84
Indiana, Southern in 1819.....	194
"Indiana," Poem by Sarah T. Bolton.....	132
Indianapolis in 1843.....	189
Indians.....	35
Indian Trails.....	12
Internal Improvements in Indiana—The First Thoroughfares, p. 12; Na- tional Road, p. 58; Michigan Road, p. 80; Road Improvements, p. 81; Canals, pp. 101, 108, 115; State System, p. 117; Stage Routes (with map), p. 21; Vincennes and Indianapolis Road, 25.	

	Page
Lewis, E. I.: Old Stage Coach Days.....	21
Lincoln Memorial Tablet.....	25
Local History (see Historical Societies), Contributions to, pp. 48, 92, 93, 95, 148.	
Local History Contributions—A Campbell Family Tradition, p. 48; "Battle of Cass County," p. 49; A Heroine of Civil War Days, p. 49; The Word Hoosier, p. 95; Concerning Indians, p. 96; John Flinn's Story, p. 96; Education in Benton County, p. 97; "Some Recollections of My Boyhood," p. 97; Logansport History, p. 98; Clay County Canal War, p. 148; Early Muncie Letters, p. 148; Sketches of Cass County, p. 148.	
Miamia, The Last of.....	35
Miller, James M.: The Whitewater Canal.....	108
National Road—General History, p. 58; in Indiana, p. 74; Description of Travel on, p. 76; Memorials, Reports, etc., Relating to, p. 78.	
Newspaper Index (<i>Indiana Journal</i>).....	39, 92
Parker, Benjamin S.: Pioneer Life, pp. 1, 51, 125, 182; Travel on National Road, p. 76.	
Pennington, Dennis.....	96, 98
Parke, Benjamin, Letter About.....	34
Pioneer Life—Early Manners, Customs, Homes, Equipments, Dress, Industries, etc.....	1, 51, 125, 182
Pioneer Traces.....	14
Railroads—First Railroad Movements, p. 149; First Track, p. 152; Railroads vs. Canals, p. 153; First Ones Built, p. 154; Influences of, p. 160; Belt Railroad, p. 164; Sketches of Roads, p. 172; Names and Nicknames of, p. 178; Early Equipment of, p. 179; Mileage of, p. 180; Early Speed on, p. 180.	
Ray, John W.: Dennis Pennington.....	96
Revolutionary Graves.....	47, 198
Roads, Early State.....	15
Road Improvements—Plank Roads, p. 82; Gravel Roads, p. 83; Free Turnpikes, 83.	
Settlers' Meeting, First.....	116
Stage Coach Days (Frontispiece Map).....	27
State Capital, Question of Removing in 1815.....	98
State Fair, First in Indiana.....	144
Tipton's Journal, Comments on.....	30
Travel, Early—By Stage Coach, p. 21; Difficulties of, pp. 19, 23; Mileage Rates, Schedules, etc., p. 22.	
Typographical Union of 1851.....	195
Union Depot in Indianapolis.....	163
Vawter, John, Letter from.....	194

THE INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOLUME IV

1908

Published Under the Direction of
THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Christopher B. Coleman, Editor
INDIANAPOLIS

ETAL : BOOKS
PUBLISHED
901 EAST WASHINGTON STREET
INDIANAPOLIS

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. IV

MARCH 1908

No. 1

EARLY COMMERCE IN INDIANA

THE resources of Indiana were for years almost wholly agricultural,* and the citizen was, to the greatest possible degree, self-supporting and self-sufficient within the limits of a very narrow life. The farm supplied the farmer not only with most of the food that went upon his table, but with flax and wool for his clothing and hides for his shoes. He was, not infrequently, his own tanner and shoemaker; with his ax and draw-knife and shaving-borse, supplemented, perhaps, by a "burning-iron" for an anvil, he was as often cabinet-maker as husbandman, possessing, indeed, a versatility and resourcefulness that, considering his scant equipment, was astonishing. The housewife and her daughters not only cut and made the family garments, but spun and wove the fabrics for the same. The immense advantage of division of labor by expert specialists which, along with improved machinery, has at the present so multiplied and cheapened commodities, they practically entirely missed, though a step in this direction was the itinerant "spinners" and shoemakers, told of by some chroniclers, who went from home to home plying their trades where required.

But with all this self-sufficiency with which the average pioneer began life in the new country, he was by no means independent of the advantages of civilization, and his dependence increased as, with thrift, his wants increased. Of a large class few were satisfied with spinebrast tea and parched grain coffee, with wholly home-made clothes and conveniences, and with the total absence of finery and luxury. In copies of the *Vincennes Sun* of 1816 we find sundry modest advertisements of unspecified merchandise. These advertisements rapidly grow in number and in length. In the file of the following year appears

*The principal articles of trade are horses, mules, cattle, swine, flour, corn, whiskey and lumber, which are either exchanged at home for foreign goods, or transported for sale to the southern market. — *Indiana Gazette*, 1817, p. 21.

a goodly variety of commodities, comprising dry goods, hardware, fine boots and shoes, millinery and hats, saddlery, whisky and salt. In 1818 commercial advertisements occupy large and conspicuous place in the pages of the *Sun*, and these continue to increase in diversity.

Indianapolis, where the difficulties of importing were far more serious than at Vincennes, and the trade of which may be fairly regarded as representing the social necessities, was hardly behind Vincennes. In the earliest local paper accessible to us—*The Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide*—we find, two years after the founding of the town, the advertisement of Conner, Tyner & Co., whose stock includes "cloths, cassimeres, baize, cassinets, flannels, blankets, bombazetts, robes, dress shawls, calicoes, cambrick, muslins, shirtings, vesting, hosiery, nankeens, handkerchiefs, umbrellas and parasols, plaids, stripes and chambrays, linen, hats, combs, bonnets, shoes—black, coloured and morocco, spoons, knives and forks, saws, files, saddlery, school books, butcher, shoe and pen knives, chissels, gouges and plane bitts, hammers and hatchets, hinges and screws, padlocks, latchets, spades, shovels, tongs, cotton and wool cards, augers, &c., &c. Also, queensware and glassware, groceries, powder, lead and shot, iron, steel and nails, chalk and Spanish whiting, tinware, &c., &c."*

Elsewhere we find coffees, teas, sugars, wines and other spirits, drugs and nostrums, segars, tobaccos and pipes, indigo and foreign dye stuffs, oils, soaps, spices, confectionery, trunks, musical instruments, stationery and books, shad and mackerel, watches and clocks, 10-plate stoves,† patent ploughs, mill furnishings and other articles representing the importations of the country.

*Of all the imports none was considered more important than whisky and salt, and the same paper quoted sees fit to announce with a capitalized heading and an exclamation point, the following important item of news:

"KEEL BOAT NEWS!"

"Arrived at the landing opposite Indianapolis, on Saturday last. Keel Boat Dandy, with 28 ton cargo, consisting of Salt and Whisky, the property of S. and D. Miller, of Maysville."

†*First Stove in Wabash.*—The first stove in Wabash county was purchased in Pittsburg, Pa., by Arch Stitt, taken to the Ohio river and conveyed by bateau to the Wabash and up that river to Lafayette. From that place the trip to the Stitt home in Rich Valley was made by way of the old canal. The stove was an exceedingly heavy affair, with three raises, or steps, and both the pipe and stove were great curiosities to the neighbors, who drove several miles to see them. Other stoves were introduced soon afterward, but fire-places and ovens, the latter outside of the house, continued in use many years later.—*Wabash Plain Dealer.*

This description from Young's History of Wayne County (p. 63) presents a vivid picture of the pioneer store:

"Smith's store, inside, would be regarded by most of our readers as a curiosity shop. Here was a rude counter; there were a few shelves fixed up to the log wall. On these were seen packages of Barlow knives, with a sample knife outside for a sign; sheep shears done up in the same manner; also gimlets, augers, etc. There were sickles wherewith to cut the first crops of wheat, hair sieves, trace chains, blind bridles, curry-combs, and numerous other necessities for the farmers. Nor were the wants of their wives and daughters forgotten. They there found calico, fine cambric, cap-stuff, pins, needles, etc. Here were sold some of the first wedding garments for the settlers' daughters, and here was kept also a small stock of imported broadcloth, but rather too fine for many to wear. Occasionally a young man who wished to appear in a coat of blue cloth, with yellow metal buttons, a high and rolling collar, and a forked tail, after the fashion of those days, got his outfit here. Smith increased his stock from time to time, to supply the demand of the constantly increasing population, and being for several years the only merchant in the county, he acquired an extensive and lucrative trade." This was in Richmond, in 1810. Smith was said to have brought his first stock by pack-saddle from Cincinnati or from Eaton, O. The wagon trips, later, to Cincinnati for goods required from six to ten days. The number of these stores and the extensiveness of their stocks, despite the risks and expense of securing them, shows that even in those days in a material sense as well as spiritually, man could not live to himself alone. But the difficulty of getting supplies was sometimes too great for even the most urgent demand to overcome. The desperate straits attendant upon isolation is well illustrated by the following account given by Robert Dale Owen in a little book on Plank Roads (p. 20). Though the story is located in Illinois it might as readily have applied to Indiana. "Last winter," he says, "the inhabitants of McLeansboro, a small town in southern Illinois, some forty or fifty miles northwest of Shawneetown, found themselves, in consequence of the miserable condition of the roads around them, cut off from all supplies and thus deprived of coffee, sugar and other necessities of

life. Tempting offers were made to several teamsters, but none of them would stir from home. At last a farmer in the neighborhood declared that he had a team of four horses that no mud could tame, and that he would risk a trip to Shawneetown and bring back the necessary supplies. Ten days elapsed, and his empty wagon was slowly and painfully dragged into town by two drooping and faded horses scarcely to be recognized as part of the fresh and spirited team that started on this expedition. Their owner, by great exertions, had reached Shawneetown, where he took in about half a load. Two of his horses were killed in the attempt to return, his load was left, perforce, on the road, and the surviving horses were so worn down by the trip as to be unfit for use during the rest of the winter."

Judge D. D. Banta, in his history of Johnson county, tells of a teamster who, hauling a load of goods to an Indianapolis merchant, had to roll off and leave in the woods a barrel of salt which, owing to the continued "horrible" condition of the road, remained there till the barrel went to staves, and "one of the most celebrated 'dry licks' ever known in the county was the consequence."

The securing of the money wherewith to purchase supplies was sometimes no less difficult. In the transforming of the surplus wealth of the country into this wealth from abroad the producer was at every disadvantage. His overplus of hogs, cattle and grain were a drug until he got them to a distant market, and even then the price was wholly out of proportion to the labor and cost of getting them there. The hauling of a load of wheat for perhaps more than a hundred miles over quagmire roads was an arduous undertaking, aside from several days' time consumed, and instances are told of farmers who, after this drive to Madison or Cincinnati, turned about disgusted at the low prices offered and hauled their loads back home in hopes of better returns later. Nor was the urging of a drove of reluctant hogs over the same road less laborious. That they might be equal to the trip, we are told, they were sometimes put into a field "where men employed for the purpose drove them back and forth for several days in order to train them for driving on the road.* Their condition as to fatness after this "training" and

*D. D. Banta in *Indianapolis News*, June 8, 1886.

the following long drive to market may be guessed at. The cost of drovers and the expenses upon the road cut down the margin of profit no little, and after the market was reached the owner was subject to the depressed prices of an almost illimitable supply that flowed from all parts of a vast hog-producing area. And what was true of hogs was true of other animals that found their way to market by foot as the easiest way of transportation.

Or, if the settler was so located that he could take advantage of navigable water and float his produce down by flat-boat, while he could carry on the craft many times more than by his wagon, the risks of loss were multiplied; his market was far-off New Orleans, the time occupied was weeks instead of days, and the expense back with his proceeds, whether by steamboat or, as some chose, by foot or horse, through hundreds of miles of wilderness, carried with it both expense and risk.

Again, if he sold at home, the limited market, glutted with an over-supply of such things as he produced, afforded him next to nothing. Some of the prices quoted are ridiculously low: Dressed pork, \$1.00 per hundred; wheat, 37½ cents per bushel; corn, 10 to 25 cents; oats, 8 to 12½ cents; butter, 3 to 8 cents per pound; eggs, 3 to 5 cents per dozen; chickens, 50 to 75 cents per dozen; turkeys, 15 to 25 cents each, and wild meats, skins and ginseng, which were made tributary to the income, at proportionate rates. Young cattle are given as low as \$2.50 each; milch cows, \$5.00 to \$10.00, and good work horses at \$25.00 to \$50.00.*

These products disposed of at these rates were not even sold for cash, but, for the most part, exchanged for high-priced imports, such as muslin at 50 cents per yard; common calico at 37½ cents, and other fabrics, as well as tea, coffee, etc., in proportion. It required about a bushel of oats to buy a pound of nails; a bushel of wheat or two bushels of corn to buy a yard of calico or a pound of coffee. Maurice Thompson, in his "Stories of Indiana," (p. 209) says that "a yard of silk cost as much as eighty bushels of corn would sell for. Calico was exchanged at the rate of one yard for eight bushels of corn. Good broadcloth

*See D. D. Banta's smaller history of Johnson County, pp. 67-69; Young's Wayne County, pp. 62-63; and Elliott's Evansville and Vanderburg County, pp. 96-99.

this section. These wagons contained all sorts of supplies that were sold to the farmers for cash or traded for eggs, chickens, turkeys, feathers, butter, and even bacon. In fact these peddlers would take anything that they could dispose of in the Eastern markets, in exchange for their goods. The pack peddlers also followed the country roads and were merchants in their small way. In the early history of the settlements of this section the pack peddlers were mostly Irishmen or Scotchmen. The tramp artisan was also a means of transportation, but he only carried small supplies with which repairs of tinware, etc., were made. Pack-horses and donkeys were not infrequently seen on the highway."

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

EARLY WAGON TRANSPORTATION.

[From an interview with William McFarland, of Indianapolis, who, during the thirties, hauled merchandise from the Ohio river markets.]

THE old-time teamsters were proud of their calling and of their teams, and by way of expressing their pride, frequently put bows over the hames hung with small bells, and with a number of these bows, aggregating perhaps a score and a half of bells to a team, they lumbered through the mud to a perpetual *melange* of melody. In addition they sometimes put over the hames broad housings or shoulder protectors of bear-skin dressed with the hair on, and a horse thus equipped was as vain as a rustic dandy. It was an unwritten law of the road that if a man stalled, and another teamster could haul him out with the same number of horses, the latter was entitled to the bells and housings of the weaker team. The driver never occupied a seat on the wagon, but always rode the "near" horse, and armed with a long "blacksnake" whip, tipped with a silken lash that cracked viciously, managed the pulling power of his team with a skill that approached a fine art.

Bad roads were the bane of those days, and the varying condition of these had much to do with the size of the load that

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

... and the time occupied in the trip. Under favorable conditions ten days to and from Madison or Lawrenceburg, twelve days for the Cincinnati trip were counted on; but the actual time was almost twice that long, and in the latter cases the business were meager. The tariff was about ... desired weight, and with fair roads thirty hundred pounds could be hauled with four horses.

... sleeping in those days was an important business, and ... entertainment were strung all along the roads. Like ... to-day, some of them were good and some not ... the sagacious teamster on a thoroughfare not ... began looking out about stopping time, for two ... wagon-yard liberally littered with hay and a fat house ... owner would indicate that the place was well patronized, and the inference from the latter was that ... were plenty of scraps for the dog there would also ... for the guests.

... were provided with large yards for wagons and ... the house guests could be accommodated variously. Perhaps, perhaps, would be partitioned off into ... where the fastidious guests could have privacy ... but a large general room on the ground floor, ... particular traveler could stretch out on the floor, ... harness, usually served the teamsters. In this ... would be a miniature barroom, consisting ... and liquor on its shelves. Another feature, ... a wardrobe closet somewhere about the room where ... was safely kept.

... transportation continued and grew until the ... and rapid development of railroads ... and the big-topped "Conestoga" and ... into history.

G. S. C.

SOME VINCENNES DOCUMENTS.

[The following are copies from original documents now in the office of the Clerk of Knox County, Indiana.—G. S. C.]

THE WILL OF THOMAS POSEY.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Posey, of Jeffersonville, Ind. Ty., being of sound mind, but knowing the uncertainty of life, doth make and ordain this, my last will and testament, revoking all others heretofore made.

I commit my soul to God who gave it, with a hope of pardon for my sins and reconciliation through the atoning mercies of my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ; and my body to be interred in a plain and decent manner.

My beloved wife, Mary Posey, being considerably advanced in years, my desire is to place her in the most agreeable situation that my property may admit of, and to her own wishes. It will be very troublesome for her to keep house. I would therefore recommend that she should live with one of her children. Should she make choice of this mode, my will and desire is that my executors or administrators shall furnish her with the necessary supplies for her maintenance, and that she shall have a servant to wait upon her, and such part of my furniture as may be necessary during her life.

My children, John, Fayette, Lloyd, Thornton A., William C., and Eliza Maria, I leave assigned to each such portions of my property as I was able to give. To Lloyd, Thornton and Eliza Maria, I gave two slaves each, and made over to them certain lands, the titles of which are found defective, and a compromise having taken place with John Lewis, by which he relinquished to me a debt that I owed by law given Warner Lewis of about two thousand dollars, I mean to compensate for the defect of titles of the land given them each one-third of the \$2,000.

The residue of my estate I give to my children, Thomas, Alex, Washington A. G. and Sarah Ann T. T., except should Mr. Francis and Mrs. Lucy Fitzhugh make over property to Sarah Ann T. T. to the amount of a fourth part of the residue of my property, then in that case I devise that she should only receive a mourning ring.

could be hauled and the time occupied in the able conditions ten days to and from Madis and twelve days for the Cincinnati trip sometimes it took almost twice that long, the profits of the business were meager. \$2.00 to \$2.50 a hundred weight, and with dred weight could be hauled with four h

Tavern keeping in those days was an houses of entertainment were strung al the hostleries of to-day, some of them so good, and the sagacious teamster familiar to him, began looking out ab signs—a wagon-yard liberally littered dog. The former would indicate that ized by wagoners, and the inference where there were plenty of scraps fo be plenty of food for the guests.

These taverns were provided with swine, and within the house guests ously. The upstairs, perhaps, w small bedrooms, where the fastidio by paying for it, but a large gener where the less particular traveler wrapped in his blanket, usually apartment, perhaps, would be a of a deep closet with liquor on also, would be the saddle closet the riding paraphernalia was sa

This mode of transportation '50's, when the introduction ar caused a swift decadence and the jangling bells passed into

of our
POSEY.

Another
harness, etc.,
etc., at \$130.00.
D. Hay.]

MARK.

\$20,000.

during the vacation
August court, which was
and ninety-six, the said
of attachment, called a
the said George Rogers
words and figures following
northwest of the river

Sheriff our
 to attach all
 credits, lands
 of G. R. Clarke, of
 (as is supposed)
 return thereof
 Common Pleas
 of said County of
 ; then and there
 Laurent Bazadon,
 to establish his demand
 and arms the said
 Laurent and took away
 the said Laurent, to
 of twenty thousand
 d. Hereof fail not, and
 ss Pierre Gamelin, Esq.,
 ncennes, the fifth day of
 en hundred and ninety-six.

ing return, to-wit: One 20-
 re lot joining; one 9-acre lot
 ing the rapid; one 940-acre lot
 lot at the point of rocks sup-
 information. Mr. Laccapagne
 No. 18, the rest mortgaged to
 l tenements, etc., on the 30th Sep-
 dits of G. R. Clarke. Christopher

plaintiff appeared by his attorney, and
 that the Prothonotary do advertise in
 unless the defendant do appear at the
 it will then be entered by default, and
 t, the tenth day of February, one thou-
 and ninety-seven, plaintiff appeared and the
 until the next term, to file his declaration,
 wit, the eighth day of November, in the
 seven hundred and ninety-seven, the plaintiff
 his certain declaration against the defendant

Whatever property I may have remainin disposed of in manner that my executors or agree upon, and I direct that they make dee all lands, either sold or to be sold, and coi me, and pay all debts justly due.

My Order of Cincinnati I give to John brass-barrel pistols to Thomas Posey; my my Stony Point pistols to Fayette Pose head to Joseph M. Street; my sword car library to Lloyd and Thornton A. Pose gold epaulets to Washington A. G. Pose to Eliza Maria Street.

I authorize my executors or administr of the residue of my property or make suit the legatees, and as may be agreee tors or administrators.

I constitute and appoint my sons, ington A. G. Posey executors of this, n any one of which by the consent of t of conveyance to any of my lands.

Given under my hand this sixth da Lord Christ, 1816.

Filed April 14, 1818.

[Total appraisement of estate, \$0 inventory of one Dearborn wagon at \$270.00, and one bay horse, saddle. The first inventory made by Benj.

A SUIT AGAINST GEORGE

LAURENT BAZADON, Merchant, vs. GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.

BE it remembered that hereto and after the adjournment in the year one thousand seven Laurent sued out of this court writ of foreign attachment Clarke, which said writ is in to-wit: Territory of the Un

same
in, the
of the
the sam
suit, etc.
J. Darneale,
Jones John-
continuance the
time, to-wit,
the year one thou-
ties appeared, the
ant by Gabriel Jones
was ordered by the
that the defendant
arges about his defense
in mercy, etc.
Clerk's office, "Minutes
court cases. In this book
cases as plaintiff. This
return of writ.]

FOUNDING GE.

was the founder and
r's study in Roches-
"ancient languages"
ersity in Indianapolis
68, and was at a later
8. He is now living at

stitution of Indiana, to
tion, the work of educa-
hools, county seminaries,
at began to be organized
taotic period. Educational
amp teachers abounded, all
school equipment of all kinds
primary education, so inade-
re supplemented from 1816 to
academies. These supplied the
primary schools. In this period
and deservedly have an honorable

848, I had the honor of organizing
the eastern part of the State.* For
er of educational influence, attracting
omen to its advanced courses of study.
greatly influential in the communities

those connected with it took an active part
option of the new Constitution of 1851.
State Constitution, making provision, from
to the university, for education free to all
State.

on was strenuously opposed as unjust, undemo-

Fairview, Rush county.

in a plea of trespass, and these are pledges for prosecution to-wit, John Doe and Richard Roe, which declaration is in words and figures following, to-wit: County Knox Sheriff Bazadon, late of St. Vincennes, in our said County, do hereby certify, complains of George Rogers Clarke, of the County of Jefferson, in the State of Kentucky (as is supposed), General and commanding officer of a party of men, of the Oubache regiment, of a plea of trespass for this Whereas, the said defendant on or about the seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, in Vincennes, in our said County of Indiana, within the jurisdiction of this court, with force and arms, and is to say, with a body of men under military appearance, with guns, swords, knives, etc., etc., broke and entered the house of the said plaintiff, and then and there took away the goods, wares and merchandise, furs, pelts, and accounts and papers of the said plaintiff to the value of twenty thousand dollars of the currency of the United States, the same detained and kept, and afterwards, to-wit, on the same day and year aforesaid, at St. Vincennes, in the same County, within the jurisdiction of the said court, disposed of the same to the said defendant's own use; and other injuries done to the said plaintiff, and then and there did against the said plaintiff, the United States, and to the damage of the said plaintiff to the value of twenty thousand dollars, and therefore he binds John Doe and Richard Roe pledges for prosecution p. q., and thereupon came the defendant by Gabrielson, his attorney, and on motion of plaintiff for a continuance the same is laid over till to-morrow evening, at which time on Thursday the eighth day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, the parties appeared in his proper person and the defendant by Johnson, his attorney in fact, whereupon it was ordered by the court that the said action be withdrawn and that the plaintiff recover of the plaintiff his costs and charges and that the plaintiff in that behalf expended, and the plaintiff in m

[From court book in Knox County Clerk's office from 1796 to 1799." A record of court cases involving Bazadon figures in fourteen different cases and in one case was dismissed by plaintiff on return of writ.

1
1-
om
ion
als
tion

ty in
rever
west.
sion of
1. The
stitution
d indus-
progress.
ure of all
; this not
minationa
catholic
as a mor
e convict
enough
l truths.
ruths.
often di
hs of cha

oncealmen
d emphas
l here be
es of study

cratic, and even dangerous free schools was under the member is quoted as saying, written, 'Here lies an error now, I doubt not he knew

The new Constitution of the unrivaled system of education in round numbers, of

The rise and growth of this chapter in the educational sprang into existence. A common impulse seemed to be supplied. For the provision, and, in the same one, sprang into two thousand years of education. In the efforts, and who often called down. In their original ministry; to maintain provide teaching and in a broad leaders of the trial to the civil fully to the period from established of these conferences through

In this taught and passed the tions given and necessary with not include as they

The national

in the bosom of the 1820, and were the sacrifice, inspired by a work. These colleges by religious bodies the increasing secular-

anted find ample confirmation Butler, whose honored board of directors on the He says: "I have given of care, counsel, labor, hanging up, not merely a literary up of an institution of the character and the Supreme fully recognized and carefully with the science of Christian Scriptures, and to place it, and exponent of the common Such were the formative ideas who founded this institu-

to be realized in this universal women. At the opening of that women needed or would be was generally questioned and exceptions, no institution, East or willing to commit itself to the principles. The plan was generally advocates ridiculed as vision- in the wisdom as well as the numbers of this institution opened were qualified to enter, regardless of wisdom been justified by the fifty years. With the exception East, clinging to their hoary traditions, universities maintained at the examinations colleges, with very few accepted the doctrine of coeducation,

are now admitted to the fullest privileges of the best schools of the land. This point is urged to indicate how far the grasp of the issues in education; how much the progress of this institution were before the times; and why they were necessary to establish this university.

As briefly have I sought to present the development of education in this State as typical of what has taken place throughout this great northwest in its system of public education; also the rise of denominational colleges as a part of the educational forces moulding the character of its people; and the role of Butler College as an important and influential factor in carrying forward the plans of the authors of the Ordinance of 1787, who declared that religion, morality and knowledge should be forever encouraged throughout the imperial region of the great northwest.

INDIANA'S EARLY PENAL LAWS.

A COMPEND of the Acts of Indiana, printed in 1817, says that hog-stealing was punishable by a fine of \$100 and from twenty-five to thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, well laid on. Horse-stealing was punishable by fifty to one hundred lashes, and on second offense it became a capital crime, punishable with death by hanging. Receiving stolen horses was punishable by death.

Altering bounds incurred a fine of \$5.00 and twenty lashes, and on second offense two days in the pillory.

Mayhem was punished by a fine of \$50.00 to \$1,000, and if the culprit was unable to pay he was sold for five years to any one who might desire his labor.

For manslaughter a man was branded in the hand with the letters "M. S."

Obstructing officers was punishable with thirty-nine lashes.

In Clarke county, in 1807, a man named Ingram was convicted of horse-stealing and was condemned by the jury to hang. Judge Waller Taylor was on the bench. Ingram was pardoned on the scaffold. This was the only death sentence on record in Clarke county for this offense. At that period the lash runs through the whole category of crimes and misdemeanors. G. S. C.

persons skilled

that Will Cum-
 bor for having pur-
 contrary to nater,"
 d, was rapidly coming
 with his long wagon of
 the patrons of the old
 forgotten through long
 defects and supplement the
 display of linguistic colors
 the new land.

r, with six stout farm horses
 country Jehu, and fed by an ex-
 en upon the band-cutter's table
 the thresher—came rattling and
 road on a display trip, scattering
 st of the townspeople and the great
 ns and little children, and closely fol-
 tanning-mill peddler with his newly
 e rural heart beat high and happily,
 tisticians figured out big profits for those
 cultivate cereals in the wheat belt of Ohio
 figured well, and were not mistaken in their

rom these *avant couriers* of agricultural and in-
 s to a band of wandering Gipsies was a long
 eat as it was, it did not exceed the distance that
 rate the Gipsies of the present—or many bands of
 their handsome, commodious wagons, pretty horses,
 dressed people and fat dogs, from the beggarly out-
 bby wagons and carts, bony old horses, poorly clad
 and children and skeleton dogs, that haunted the old
 , in the years long ago.
 ped beside the little streams and near the towns, they told
 es, begged and swapped horses with the movers and farm-
 They were distrusted by everybody, except as to the matter

of reading the future and telling the fortunes of those who entrusted them with their fates. The marvel of it all was not the skill of the Kanakee women in guessing at the past and future of the willing victim, but the large number of people who trusted in them implicitly. This class of citizens was not confined to the poor and ignorant, but embraced many of the well-to-do people. It mattered not whether the dark-skinned priestess read fate through coffee grounds and lines of the hand, consulted the sun and stars, or went at it off-hand and rattled away until out of breath and short of prevarications; her statements were implicitly relied upon and cheerfully paid for by people who would not have trusted their best friends in small business transactions with any such degree of confidence. Of course the Gipsy seers were always wise enough to locate the sorrows and disappointments of their patrons in the past, and paint their futures in rosy colors. Women were more frequent in their patronage of the Kanakee fortune-tellers than men, and love, marriage and domestic felicity, or infelicity, were the subjects upon which they were most inquisitive.

There was a widespread prejudice prevalent among the people against the Gipsies, based on the tradition that they made a business of stealing babies and small children. Scarcely would a band of those wanderers settle itself in some sheltered spot by the roadside, procure feed for its horses from the neighboring farmers, by trading either fortune-telling or money for it, or by right of discovery, than along would come a startling story that Gipsies—presumably the same—had stolen a sweet babe from a neighboring town, who never would have been regained but for the prompt and heroic action of the citizens in rushing to the pursuit and forcing the prompt restoration of the precious prize. It is not impossible that such stories were set afloat by the owners of corn fields, potato patches and chicken roosts, who were anxious that their Gipsy neighbors should be induced to move on, an event that usually occurred as soon as the harrowing tales had grown sufficiently to arouse the indignation of the credulous.

The Negro Fortune-teller.—"Tickle Breeches"—though when or how he obtained the name, if not from some rattling old tune

akin to "leather breeches," would be hard to discover—was a cunning old negro who boasted that he owned a musket "dat went troo de ole resolution war, en 'll shoot er man dead er mile off." He had been a slave, and his otherwise benevolent face bore the impress of the dissimulation and duplicity that the old environments had imposed upon him and that his newer occupations required him to keep up, for he was a fortune-teller of the first water, to whom fine town ladies in silks and satins paid willing tribute. He sweetened up his work with wonderful stories and cunningly applied flatteries, in the use of which he far excelled the Gipsies. Besides this he was one of the best of the old-fashioned fiddlers, and could evoke such rhapsodies from his ancient violin as set heels and toes to tingling for the motion of reel, jig or cotillion, and made him a great favorite at country dances. Though few of his clients owned up to any degree of belief in his stories, yet they exerted sufficient influence in strengthening the popular faith in his mystic powers as a voodoo to bring him many a "levy" and quarter.

MOVEMENT TO ERECT A MONUMENT TO GOVERNOR BIGGER.

THE following resolution, passed by the City Council of Fort Wayne early in February, 1908, largely through the initiative and influence of Mr. J. M. Henry, will be of general interest:

"In what was formerly known as the Broadway Cemetery, now known as the McCulloch Park, in the city of Fort Wayne, there lie the remains of Samuel Bigger, ex-Governor of the State of Indiana, who served in that official capacity from 1840 to 1843 with credit to himself and honor to the State, after having served for many years as the sole representative of the State of Indiana in the House of Representatives of the United States, from

which office he resigned to accept that of Governor of the State.* It may truly be said that he saved the honor of the State in his refusal to consent to the repudiation of the then State debt, and it is no less true that to his refusal was probably due a subsequent payment by the State of the debt, which at that time others thought should have been repudiated. Never since that time has the State been on the verge of repudiating its debt. It is certainly an honor to the city of Fort Wayne that it can claim the residence, in part, of a governor of such immense value to the State of Indiana, and the resting place of his body. This city never had the honor of claiming the residence or burial place of any other governor of the State. Some years ago the exact spot where lie the remains of Governor Bigger was discovered by the finding of an unmarked slab, which was known at that time to be the spot where Governor Bigger had been interred. The slab, which had been previous to that time neglected by the lack of any decoration or distinguishing mark to view, on the part of the city, its appreciation of the honor of having thus city the residence and burial place of such a distinguished governor, was removed. The memorable spot can still be pointed out by those who know its location, and it would be a sad thing for the city of Fort Wayne if, from the failure of the city to permanently mark the spot, future generations would be unable to find the same. The spot which has so far been thus neglected should be by the city befittingly marked by the erection of a suitable monument or other designation of respect and honor. Therefore, be it
 Resolved by the Common Council of the city of Fort Wayne,
 That the sense of the council that a suitable monument be
 erected to the grave of Governor Samuel Bigger, that his name
 be inscribed on it for future ages."

* Governor Bigger served in the Indiana Legislature 1834 and 1835; from 1835 till his nomination as governor of his judicial circuit. After his term as governor he practiced law at Fort Wayne where he died in 1845. — *Woollen—Biographical and Historical*

WILLIAM DAWSON'S LIFE AND WORK.

BY MRS. M. E. CHARLES.

[Paper read before the Henry County Historical Society.]

WE speak of self-made men—men who have risen above adverse circumstances and have achieved success upon some line of activity in life. In the subject of this sketch we have an example of a self-made man, one who overcame many obstacles and, in a great measure, succeeded in his chosen line. He was not a native of Indiana, but came from Starke county, Ohio, with his parents when but a boy, and settled on a farm near Cadiz, in this county. Here he grew up in a family of six children, receiving such education as the limited facilities of that time permitted; and so well did he improve his opportunities that he was considered competent to teach school and taught one term while living near Cadiz and also a term or two at Sugar Grove, a mile and a half northwest of Spiceland, Ind. Here, too, he began to turn his attention to the study of astronomy.

Limited in means, he worked at a great disadvantage, making many of his instruments, for the most part, out of whatever material was at hand. At the age of twenty he began keeping a record of the weather. In the beginning he did not take the temperature daily, but a little later began doing so, taking it three times a day; at 7 a. m., 2 p. m. and 9 p. m. This he kept up for a period of about thirty-five years.

He was married July 30, 1862, to Abigail Hammer, daughter of Elisha Hammer, one of the pioneers of Henry county. They at first thought to set up their new home at Cadiz, but circumstances occurred which induced them to sell their partly finished house, and in March, 1863, they moved to Spiceland. This was in the midst of the Civil War and laborers were so scarce that when building their house there, William Dawson did a great deal of the work himself, and when ready for the lath his wife helped to nail them on.

An editorial in the *Indianapolis Journal* (date unknown) says of him: "Among the practically great and useful men of our age, but few, if any, now occupy a higher place as an astronomer and philosophic thinker, than William Dawson, of Spiceland, Ind. Prof. Dawson is to-day the self-made astronomer of America. His knowledge of that important branch of scientific learning has not been acquired by any course of study known to the college graduate. What he has learned as an astronomer he has gained only through other channels. He owes his present great store of knowledge to nothing but his own industry. His hands have never known any other calling than honest toil. By trade he is a shoemaker, and when not employed in calculating and measuring the star-depths he may be found at his shoe bench."

The dream of his early life was the possession of a telescope of four or five inches in diameter. But it was not until 1867 that he could spare the two or three hundred dollars that was required to obtain the glasses and parts that he could not make. After a good deal of correspondence with different astronomers he set to work, as he expressed it, "to get all the telescope he could for the money." He was well aware that a good object glass was the main thing, and he sent to Boston for one four and a half inches in diameter. This cost \$185. In addition he ordered three eye-pieces which cost five dollars each. In writing of this he said: "About the most gratifying occasion of my life was the arrival and sight of glasses for a six-foot achromatic telescope." While the glasses were on the way he procured a zinc tube, made larger at one end than at the other, in which he placed his treasure upon its arrival, and although it was snowing he soon had the satisfaction of testing the quality of the glass and his workmanship upon surrounding objects which he could see distinctly a mile or more away. He succeeded in mounting his telescope satisfactorily, and in a manner that admitted of its being turned in any direction. He said much study and work were done before all this was completed, and considerable shoemaking had to be done, too. But it was highly gratifying to set the telescope in range with a star and then see a large "diamond in the sky" at noonday.

The late Rev. Myron Reed once said: "I believe in endowing individual genius instead of colleges. There are many people in the world who are gifted with a special talent for helpfulness to society. William Dawson, of Spiceland, Ind., has a genius for astronomy. By the closest economy he succeeded in securing a telescope, and by persistent study he has become familiar with many astronomical phenomena. But while he was up in his observatory with his pet instrument, earnestly plying the heavens with questions, he was liable to be called down at any moment to the prosaic work of cobbling a pair of shoes."

William Dawson was one of the most conscientious of men in his dealings with his fellow men, and painstaking to the last degree in his astronomical calculations. So accurate was he in his work that persons who were acquainted with him were sure that any statement given out by him had been sufficiently verified to make it safe to accept it. Prof. Edward Holden, of the Lick observatory, said to a young lady from Spiceland who visited the observatory on Mt. Hamilton, that if William Dawson said a thing was so they immediately accepted it as the truth, such confidence had they in his ability and accuracy. He was much interested in the contest between astronomy and religion. He did not want to detract one iota from the great benefits of the church in all ages, but he frequently pointed out, in articles written for publication, the persecutions which the sciences of geography and astronomy have endured. "But now," he wrote, "this warfare on science is happily passing away, and we of this age partake of the sweets of science without knowing the true source of our joy."

His contributions to the press were many and varied, touching upon almost every phase of astronomical phenomena. In the *American Meteorological Journal* for 1884 was printed a series of articles containing tables of barometric observations for the period of time between 1861 and 1884. The *Kansas City Review of Science and Industry* for August, 1883, contains the eclipses from 1800 to 1900, as calculated by Mr. Dawson. He wrote frequently for the *Indianapolis Journal* for a period of years; occasionally for some Eastern papers, and also for some of the county papers.

... he saw the beauty of the relation of the sun to the needs of humanity, and the relation in beautiful language. In an ... he wrote, "A very moderate telescope, of six inches in diameter, will show two or three hundred stars which are located and named on the ... can be learned. But the view as presented through a telescope of four or five inches in diameter is one which we contemplate thousands of mountains, and ... wherein we are soon lost in wonders." ... groups, giving their relative size, position, and ... he said, "Let us now for a moment ... to the first week of creation. On the ... the father Adam was probably the first ... the sun. We wonder what he thought, ... of day neared the western horizon, ... the nearer it approached the surface ... as it crossed the line of sight. ... the shadows of evening soon enveloped ... Did he think the sun would rise ... where? But now perhaps the crescent ... its way to the place where the sun ... Soon the evening star was there ... eyes of the beholder. And as day ... the little gems of stars burst forth ... of heaven. Doubtless a constellation ... a little way above the horizon and ... the eastern horizon. An hour of time ... of the star-groups is hid beyond the ... while the one in the east is fifteen ... was an hour before. Now these very ... ten thousand times since creation's ... to our gaze."

... the residence, and on the second story of ... a dome about twelve feet in diameter, ... which he mounted his telescope. This ... so that by a slight push of the hand ... upon any part of the heavens.

William Dawson was an interesting talker, especially when conversing upon the subject of astronomy. Many a student of Spiceland Academy has taken advantage of his obliging disposition, and while waiting for him to mend a shoe, plied him with questions about the sun, moon and stars, or some kindred topic, and felt much ahead of his classmates who were so unlucky as to have no need of the services of the cobbler.

He was the first astronomer, as far as I have been able to learn, who discovered the

to He discovered the services of the cobbler. astronomer, so far as I have been able to learn, who discovered the periodic recurrence of sun-spots. He began his observations of the sun in March, 1867, and for several days saw no spots, and the sun in March, 1867, and for several days September when a but few were seen until about the middle of October. From this time a group of fifteen appeared near the sun's center. up to August, 1872. the number and size of the spots increased one hundred diameters. He generally used a magnifying power of August, 1872, saw 640 sun-spots; changing to a two hundred eyepiece he counted the astonishing number of 950 spots. But a change soon followed this display. The number gradually grew less and the spots smaller until during 1878, when often none were seen for days. This was near the end of recurrence, which is eleven years. The size of these spots vary much, but to be seen as a mere speck they must have a diameter of four or five hundred miles. The largest one seen by him he calculated to be 30,000 miles long and 12,000 miles wide.* In 1888

In 1888 he spent the summer in Kansas, hoping that a change of climate would benefit his health which had not been good for several years. He seemed to improve while there but did not long hold what he had gained. He continued to decline in health until the summer of 1890, when he became so feeble that he was no longer able to go up stairs to his observatory, but as long as he was able he assisted in making up the records of the weather. He passed from earth on the 12th of August, 1890, leaving the world, and especially the astronomic world, richer for his having lived in it.

The periodicity of the sun-spots was observed earlier by Schwabe, a German astronomer, and by Wolf, of Zurich. The latter is ordinarily credited with the discovery of the general law of the recurrences, which he traced back to the time of Galileo. Watson's work seems, however, to have been entirely original and independent of these other observations and researches.—*Editor.*

Besides
the heavens
and could
article at
two or three
lunar maps,
maps, a
through
of splendor
valleys

Writ
and the
trans
sixth
mort
or he
desc
of t
Soc
the
ag
mo
wa
a
de
fi
w
a

THIS LETTER.

we are indebted for the follow-
ing John, then of Ohio, but
Wayne county, Indiana, which
This letter is written on a
sheet made the envelope as
was sealed with a wafer, and the
receiving office.]

CAPOLIS, CENTER TOWNSHIP,
MARION COUNTY, INDIANA,
13TH OF 1ST MONTH, 1828.

Letter of 12th Mo. 9th, which had
till this time. The land in
good terms generally. The Na-
mond, Centerville, this place and
strait from point to point. It is
one, seventy-five to Terre Haute.
east side of White river in a high,
three-fourths of a mile from the
look like a town. There are about
ten stores, six taverns, a court
many fine houses, and six weeks back
lets worth \$100 and the place some-
A few Friends in the county, two
to Monthly meeting. I have not
Yearly meeting.

has been six weeks in session here; it expects
Ben Elliot is a member. I work by the
three to four dollars a week clear. I could get
but I do not want it here. I shall quit
go to Wayne perhaps, work on my land or teach
I have promised to go to father's to see them in
go into business in Richmond in the office
I can best tell when the time comes.

I dress fashionable, wear a white hat, blue cloth coat
with metal buttons, and other garments as may best suit the
my circumstances. I am out of debt, and have Benja-
min Lundy's and Thomas Hoge's notes to the amount of \$130

which I never expect to get, and I have about thirty dollars' worth of property in Wayne county, besides my clothes, and eighty acres of land adjoining E. Swain, Jr., on one side and E. Swain, Sr., on the other, for which I have the certificate of purchase (though I had like to have lost it this way. I sent \$100 United States paper to Cincinnati by a man to purchase it. He went to the office and made the purchase in the day, and at night was at the auction sale where a pickpocket crowded in and got the pocketbook out of his pocket, containing four dollars in money and all his papers, my certificate with the rest. But he went to the office again, made oath to it and got another, providing that the last one shall draw the patent.)

(Signed) ISAIAH OSBORN.

THE WORK FAMILY.

Jeffersonville Evening News, September 4, 1905.

THE following communication received from Mrs. Sallie Work Culp, a descendant of the John Work who built the famous Tunnel Mill near Charlestown, speaks for itself and corrects some inaccuracies in a former account in the *News and Democrat* which was written in view of the approaching Work celebration which will be held at the Old Settlers' meeting this week. Mrs. Culp writes as follows from Collins, Mo.:

Your paper of August 11 contained an article about the builder of Tunnel Mills near Charlestown, Ind. Some inaccuracies occurred in the issue. Since leaving the State in 1871 the writer has several times been tempted to take a pen in defense of a worthy grandfather who has been brought before the public in recent years under so many different names. If you will publish this account you will confer favor and assist in setting the matter at rest.

The records of the county show in whom the title to Tunnel Mills land was vested. John Work, builder of those mills—son of John Work and Anna Reid Work—was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, December 9, 1760. He married Sarah Jackson, of Uniontown, Penn., 1786. He bought and settled on a large tract

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

... Fourteen Mile creek, Indiana, more than
... Shortly afterward he found it necessary
... protection from the Indians, into which the
... country often rushed in time of danger,
... near there, tending a crop in common on
... The writer has often listened with
... accounts of those days. A portion of
... was still visible in 1887, and no doubt is

... by John Work were many—three
... salt works, general store, etc.
... where was afterward placed the family
... for greater power he conceived the
... water through the hill, thus securing the
... he pierced a hill of solid rock, placing
... the space being too narrow for more with
... His perfect knowledge of survey-
... the course himself.

... account of that work copied from the
... "Commenced blasting through the
... Completed same April 14, 1816. Blasting
... Cost of said tunnel, \$3,333.33½," which
... He was a man of sterling integrity
... lies under the large square tomb at

... daughters and two sons. His daughters
... Mrs. Elizabeth Hutchings, Mrs. Anna
... His sons were Robert and John.
... John succeeded to the property.
... of William Work, for many years
... penitentiary, who died at Bed-
... who died near the old home; John
... who died at Central City, Col., and
... William Culp (now a retired lumber
... William Work left two children,
... Mo., and Dick Work, sporting
... of St. Louis. Dick Work is the
... builder of the Tunnel Mills now
... same.

MRS. SALLIE WORK CULP.

NATURAL GAS IN INDIANA.

AN EXPLOITED RESOURCE.

BY MARGARET WYNN.

[A paper prepared for a history seminar in Butler College, June, 1906.]

NATURAL gas was used in the United States as early as 1821. In that year the little town of Fredonia, in New York, used it for illuminating. In 1841 the gas was utilized at the salt wells of the Kenawha valley, West Virginia. The rudest system was put in and the gas was employed only in boiling brine. About two years later, in 1843, the people evidently awoke to the advantages of gas as a fuel, for they put down a one-thousand-foot well which produced high-pressure gas—the first of its kind on record.

At least two instances are known of gas being discovered comparatively early in Indiana. The first mention is that of a well at Francisville, in Pulaski county, put down during the oil excitement of 1865. The drillers failed to find oil and were bothered by a considerable flow of highly inflammable gas. As the uses of gas were not then known, the well was abandoned and continued to flow gas and water till 1888, when it was plugged. The Eaton well, bored in 1876, at a depth of six hundred feet yielded a flame two feet high. As the company was exploring for coal, and gas was not supposed to have any value, no attention was paid to it. Some years later, after the discovery at Findlay, Ohio, the people became interested, remembering the incident of the coal explorers. The well was drilled deeper and at nine hundred and twenty-two feet gas came. The discovery occasioned no little excitement. The well was fitted with four pipes, two on each end of a T. A flame about ten feet high arose from each. The light was seen from Muncie, twelve miles south. It was said that the heat could be felt sixty feet away. The odor of the gas was reported as not unpleasant. The same report concluded by announcing that "the work of laying mains and fitting houses will soon be commenced and this

enormous waste be utilized. One fact this well has settled, at least, namely, that the Ohio gas field reaches into Indiana." The last statement proved wrong, for there was a strip of counties along the eastern boundary of the State that proved barren.

Three great gas fields were developed in the United States before the close of the last century. The first, that of Pennsylvania, dates from the beginning of oil drilling in 1859. At first the gas from the oil wells was allowed to escape, since it was considered of no value. Later it was piped to a safe distance and burned. It was not till about 1880 that it was used extensively as a fuel. In 1883 it was piped to Pittsburg.

In 1884 gas was discovered at Findlay, Ohio. The pressure was very strong; the supply appeared inexhaustible. Manufacturers flocked to the field. The wildest excitement prevailed. Industries grew apace. Men grew wealthy. Cities grew from tiny villages. Then the gas began to fail. Owners of factories looked about for new sites.

Just at this time gas in Indiana became assured. In the report of the State Geologist for 1881, is recorded an account of a well in Fountain county which aroused the first serious interest in Indiana natural gas. "In May a boring was made for water. At something over a hundred feet a strong flow of inflammable gas took place, which continued up to the time of this report, November 10. The gas burned with a pale yellow flame and intense heat, and has no odor either in burning or before. It is evidently carbide of hydrogen or the fire damp of the miners. So far as we know it is a rare occurrence, and may be economized for lighting and heating purposes." By 1883 a number of wells had yielded a flow of gas which was utilized in a small way for concentrating brine and driving engines, as well as for illuminating purposes. The first high-pressure flow was discovered at Portland, in Jay county, March 14, 1886. In the following September the Kokomo Natural Gas and Oil Company began drilling. After thirty-one days of drilling, gas was struck one evening after eight o'clock. They continued drilling. The news spread rapidly. In the wildest excitement people rushed to see the wonder. By noon of the next day the pressure was strong enough to hurl bits of pebbles and rock high in the air. Then there was an explosion. The drill crashed to the bottom of the

well, crushing the thin shell floor. The puncture resulted in a rush of artesian water which did not affect the gas. At the time of the report, a month after the blowing of the well, the company was using the gas under its boilers, the city of Kokomo was laying mains and many residences were being fitted for gas. An item in the *Kokomo Dispatch* says: "Three stoves and a grate, furnished with gas, have been on exhibition in the store of the Armstrong-Landon Company the past week. The temperature is unvarying. A genial warmth pervades the remotest corners of the vast room, while the entire absence of smoke, dirt and ashes is favorably commented on. Four companies for laying mains are already organized and many are prospective." Late in the same fall, 1886, several strong wells were bored at Muncie. Immediately mains were laid and citizens were urged to use gas, since, the company said, "by a simple, cheap arrangement in the shape of a burner, any heating or cooking stove can be adapted to its use."

In less than two years the Indiana gas field was in its prime. Seventeen counties in the northeastern part of the State, comprising five thousand square miles, produced gas in commercial quantities. Speculation ran rife; real estate in the favored district jumped to unreasonable figures; new gas companies were organized every day; wells were put down by the dozen. Cities and towns were piped for the fuel. The failure of gas in Ohio caused the manufacturers to look for a new site. They began to flock to Indiana. They passed into towns whose streets were arched with hundreds of gas torches to welcome the new capitalists. Up till then this had been a region of farms and small towns; it now became the seat of prosperous cities. Wealth increased with astonishing rapidity. The gas belt was entering the era of its greatest prosperity.

The gas field of Indiana was much larger than that of any other gas-producing State. The field in Pennsylvania and Ohio comprised only a few hundred square miles. A further advantage that the Indiana field possessed was that it was practically continuous. Wherever the drill penetrated into Trenton rock within the limits a flow of gas in paying quantities was expected. The field was divided into three zones. The outer one, comparatively narrow, produced the weakest flow. The next

CENTRAL GAS IN INDIANA.

shell floor. The
which did not
month after the
was under the

the
the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

the

ty
dev
was
sides
new an
res. I
propos
classes
are well
men.
and Penn
was vast in
move their
to Ohio w
3 over \$300
and more
at that tim
located and
ment of natur
Pauw Plate-G
ind in the worl
ring more glass
d above ours in
1880 was \$790,781.
shown by a few v
iron, steel and glass products:
of the State were valued at \$1,4
In 1890 there were twenty-one
3,556,563 and employing 3,089
years, had nearly tripled in value
employed was multiplied more than
iron and steel industry there were
value of \$1,820,000, employing 1,7
f factories had increased to thirte

of industry is shown by a few v
iron, steel and glass products:
of the State were valued at \$1,4
In 1890 there were twenty-one
3,556,563 and employing 3,089
years, had nearly tripled in value
employed was multiplied more than
iron and steel industry there were
value of \$1,820,000, employing 1,7
f factories had increased to thirte

zone produced stronger. The center of the field, county, was surrounded by the strongest district. It began to fail, ten or twelve years after its discovery, narrowed down to some 2,500 square miles, covering Madison county. Even this area was many times the other gas belt known. It was larger than the Pennsylvania and Ohio put together.

In the early days of natural gas much time was spent boring wells in parts of the State which contain Trenton limestone. Trenton limestone is a universal formation over the State. It is always found in Trenton limestone, but it is not always the Trenton rock certain textural and structural conditions necessary to the storage of gas in sufficiently porous to give a flow. I quote from the report of S. P. Leach: "Trenton limestone is seldom a gas producer. From five to twenty feet in thickness. Observations of this rock show that its productiveness is determined by conditions. Whenever the Trenton limestone is a gas producer it is crystalline and of a sufficient porosity to hold the hydro-carbons. * * * Conditions are different. There the limestone is non-porous." Thus the presence of gas depends on change in the rock. When, by a geological process, it has become magnesian, the result is a poor producer of gas or oil. It is a question whether this change will be discovered in the future when this change is made. As a matter of fact, in most of the States, notably Texas and California, the gas-bearing stratum proves to be sandstone similar to that of Indiana. Indiana and Ohio are the only gas-producing States in which Trenton limestone is a universal formation. In either State it varies according to the thickness of the stratum. In Indiana the dolomitized Trenton limestone is from five to twenty feet in thickness. The degree of porosity.

Even if the necessary condition of a gas-bearing stratum is much below sea level the gas will not flow to the water. This always proves true of

Records will show that the property was assessed and levied in a tax levy of \$26,994, a decrease of nearly 50 per cent. The gas property was assessed at \$23,000 in 1886 on a value of \$23,000,000. The following table takes the seven years which the gas itself, as developed, was on the decline, the increase shown is Indiana:

1888	1889
\$1,320,000	\$2,075,702
1892	1893
\$4,716,000	\$5,718,000

value of \$5,418,000 in seven years. The first of the field pipe-lines were laid on the side of the gas district. Early in 1888 the *Indianapolis Sun* announced that the Indianapolis city was to supply citizens with natural gas in Washington street, Alabama street, Maryland street. Although a slight flow in Broad Ripple, the extreme edge of the city, the northeast corner of Marion county received her gas supply from the Municipal gas plant in this direct development of pipe-lines from the Indiana gas fields. The last days of natural gas this absorbed a large amount of whole districts and give rise to inter-

ing legal questions, decided for the most part in favor of the companies controlling the lines.

The most salient feature of the history of natural gas in Indiana, however, is not the wealth that was obtained through its utilization, but the enormous waste which attended its discovery and its use. Exploitation of natural resources, such as this, means the impoverishment of these resources. If in the process they are fully utilized, so that an equivalent in wealth and comfort is returned to the people in possession, there can be no cause for regret. But in this instance such was not the case. An appallingly large amount of the gas taken out of the earth was utterly wasted, so that the State of Indiana to-day has not secured a gain at all commensurate with the value of the natural resource which has been destroyed forever.

When gas was discovered only a certain amount existed in the reservoirs of gas- and oil-bearing rocks. The generation of these products, at least in paying quantities, had been the work of ages. Even the most careful use of gas for the purposes to which it was applied would probably have exhausted the supply within an ordinary lifetime. But the end was hastened by the reckless extravagance and waste. In the first few years of gas development it was shown that over 100,000,000 cubic feet of the valuable fuel was wasted daily. Even at the low prices that obtained at this time this waste would amount to millions upon millions of dollars annually. All of this waste was the more reprehensible in that when gas was discovered in Indiana there had already been two great gas belts which had been developed and had failed. In view of this fact, the fatuity of those who thought that the gas supply was illimitable, and of those who wasted it or thought it of no value, is hard to understand.

The chief items of waste were carelessness or incompetency at the wells, wasteful methods of burning gas in the open, extravagant use of gas for domestic purposes due to the general prevalence of the contract instead of the meter system, and the failure of the State government to prevent abuses in the gas business. In the beginning, much of the waste was due to ignorance of methods of handling gas. When a well was blown the men were slow to cap it and many thousands of dollars' worth escaped

before the flow was confined. Moreover, wells were occasionally allowed to flow continuously as an advertisement. For the first three or four years an average day's flow from a strong well was worth nearly \$600. As early as 1888 it developed that the pressure was slowly diminishing. However, it was not at a rapid enough rate to produce immediate alarm. Extravagance and waste continued. In 1889 the average daily waste from uncapped wells alone was estimated to be 10,000,000 cubic feet.

Later, when oil wells were drilled near the gas field they often showed strong gas pressure as well as oil. If the gas could not be disposed of to some company it was deemed necessary either to allow it to escape or to close the well to protect the gas industry. The latter alternative was seldom taken except under compulsion. The first successful attempt to develop an oil field was near Alexandria, in Madison county, the very heart of the gas field. Oil operators flocked to see the "gushers." Excitement ran high. Companies were quickly organized. From April 23, 1897, to March, 1898, seventy-five wells were drilled for oil. Of these forty produced both gas and oil, thirty-three gas only, and only three were dry. The waste of gas was enormous. To prevent damage to property the gas was burned for eleven months. They were not prepared to handle gas and enough escaped before they were tubed to supply a large town. The oil field was only a few miles from Alexandria, and the citizens became alarmed at the gas waste. However, all measures to protect the gas industry at the expense of the oil industry were opposed. In 1898 the Supreme Court decided that the anti-waste law was constitutional and that an individual could stop the waste of gas by injunction. This, in some instances, closed the oil wells and stopped the waste of gas.

The flambeaux were another occasion of great waste. These open pipes with their great flame of gas shooting out and burning a hundred times as much gas as was necessary to secure the light wanted, were left going continually, not only in towns but in the country, and around gas wells and plants. They consumed, on an average, probably from 150 to 200 cubic feet of gas per hour. No one ever thought of turning them off when not needed. The waste can not be calculated. Farmers objected seriously to giving up the open torch. If they owned their well

they considered the gas their property, or they claimed the privilege of using the gas as they pleased under the terms of their lease.

Much gas was wasted in domestic consumption through ignorance. Gas, for perfect combustion, requires a mixture of air. Persons, especially in the country, were often found using from three to five pounds pressure, whereas a proper mixer required, at the utmost, five to ten ounces. This resulted in much waste. The gas passed through grates and stoves only partially consumed. From tables given by the State Geologist of Ohio, it was found that the greater the pressure in any sized mixer the greater number of cubic feet of gas is consumed with the same amount of air. It follows that the higher the pressure the greater the amount of gas passing through the mixer and the more imperfect the combustion. This was not only a waste, but the great quantity of gas allowed to escape unburned, in several instances resulted in suffocation and explosions.

All over the country the contract system of selling gas prevailed. By this system gas was sold, per stove or grate, from 75 cents to \$1.50 per month, according to size. Bills were paid quarterly or by the month. By this system one man could burn his stove day and night full blast for a month and only pay as much as his neighbor who had been away, leaving the gas turned off. The injustice of the system is apparent. Not until gas began to fail was the meter system introduced. This plan had been advocated by some for a long time, but the people were slow to adopt it, feeling that there was plenty of gas, or that the gas companies would put the meter rate so high that there would be no economy in it for the consumer. The idea of care in preventing waste never presented itself to the mass of consumers till the apparent failure made them apprehensive lest the supply should not last. A company's gas inspector often found gas burning full pressure and the windows up to let out the heat. People turned the gas up to a certain height and left it so indefinitely. It was possible to leave one's home for week at a time keeping it at practically the same temperature as when occupied. The cheapness of the fuel caused people to disregard

"Innocents endangered by this practice, together with a greatly varying and uncertain amount wasted in the later days of the use of gas, in great losses by fire. After 1900 several houses were burned every year by a strong pressure coming on and overheating a water-heater at night or in the absence of the owner.—Editor.

its value. Often most of the heat went up the chimney through an open damper.

When the gas began to fail meters were put in at some points, but they were not so generally adopted as materially to check the waste. Many factories, owning their own wells, had used meters some time before the public consented to use them. Factory owners most interested in the supply were most anxious to adopt means to preserve it. But they were not able to effect much.

The laws of the State sought to regulate the use and prevent the waste of natural gas, and to protect from danger those who used it by making it the duty of the State Gas Supervisor to inspect pipe-lines, regulators, mixers, etc., from time to time. He also was to see that proper precautions were taken to insure the safety of those who used it or who operated wells. Many pipe-lines were condemned and caused to be relaid.

Perhaps the most interesting law passed by the General Assembly was the Flambeau Act of February 25, 1891. This law prohibited the burning of flambeaux or open torches, but allowed gas to be used in jumbo burners (enclosed in glass) which were to be turned off not later than 8 a. m. and lighted not earlier than 5 p. m. Violators were to be fined \$25 for first offense and not more than \$200 for second offense. This law was called forth by the profligate waste of gas in open torches. Many of the towns were lighted in this way. In several cities, by 1891, city electric lighting plants had been put in, but the gas torches burnt on in the glare of arc lights. On farms, also, gas torches often burned day and night in the farmer's yard or garden. Many of the farmers owned their wells and they resented the laws as curtailing their rights as citizens. They contended that natural gas was property and that they had a right to use it according to their discretion. On the other hand, the State claimed that the welfare and prosperity of the public overshadowed the desires or the good of the individual. Public good demanded that reasonable use only be made of gas. Since economy was necessary, the enforcing of the law to bring this about was only the legitimate exercise of the powers of the State. The question of the constitutionality of the law came up. For four years it was seldom enforced. Then in October, 1895, a

they considered the gas their proper privilege of using the gas as they pleased under their lease.

Much gas was wasted in domestic use. Gas, for perfect combustion requires Persons, especially in the country, at three to five pounds pressure, whereas at the utmost, five to ten ounces. The gas passed through grates consumed. From tables given by the company it was found that the greater the pressure the greater number of cubic feet of gas and amount of air. It follows that the less the amount of gas passing through imperfect the combustion. The great quantity of gas allowed in many instances resulted in suffocation.

All over the country the gas companies prevailed. By this system gas cost 75 cents to \$1.50 per month, quarterly or by the month. His stove day and night fuel cost much as his neighbor who had no off. The injustice of the system began to fail was the method had been advocated by some slow to adopt it, feeling that the gas companies would not be no economy in preventing waste new consumers till the apparent gas supply should not last. The gas burning full pressure. People turned the gas off definitely. It was put off time, keeping it at a low level occupied.* The chemical

*Carelessness engendered by the low pressure resulted, in the early days, in scores of houses were burned down by stove or furnace at night or

decided the case. The gas companies enforce the law. It was upheld the constitution. There was little trouble in

It was unlawful for any person, to cut or extend any service pipe or connection through which gas came from the mains, without the consent of the company concerned, to enlarge or alter any heating without mixers; to break or leaky mains, or to break or leaky

reasons. The wanton tapping of gas pipes with malicious intent, is to be provided against. It was the break could be repaired. The offenders, in this case, were the part of this act referring to a broken pipe, was necessary to lay of the mains in the early days laid by inexperienced workmen. He took his match and it was possible that a dangerous and. The clause forbidding the enlargement of mains was gravely disregarded as it would have been practically impossible in Indianapolis and other cities.

showed great lack of insight into the faulty laws. Probably the best of March 4, 1893, regarding the gas. This law provided for plugging of gas wells. Any hole shot there shall be placed in the wall of pine wood of a diameter within of the well; to extend at least three feet. The plug shall be rammed down. The hole shall be filled with broken stone or cement to a point four feet above Trenton rock. On

another plug at least five feet long, down. If not shot the well shall be dry cement to a point four feet above this shall be placed a six-foot plug. The casing of the well shall be re-ball eight inches in diameter cast in the the driller, after which not less than ten placed on top." Penalty for violation was each day of continued violation for ten days. At first sight an ample enactment, providing method of doing the work which, if followed, ly seal any outlet. Unfortunately, however, one point—it did not provide for any witness was being done. When it had been done the examining whether the law had been complied with ve. As a consequence, in the years between 1895 ten many wells were abandoned, comparatively few d according to the law.

act of the General Assembly which caused much as that which prohibited the transportation of gas pipes at more than 300 pounds pressure per square inch; use of any device for pumping or any artificial means could have the effect of increasing the natural flow of the from any well or of increasing or maintaining the flow of through pipes used for conveying it. At this time a large tity of gas was piped to Chicago. (This, by the way, was iolation of a law forbidding the piping of gas to any point about the State. The Supreme Court twice declared this law nconstitutional and it was not enforced.) A test case was ade of the Jamison suit against the Indiana Natural Gas Com-pany. A series of tests was made by the State Gas Supervisor who found the pressure in the Chicago line in no instance to be more than 295 pounds. The Supreme Court held that pressure might be applied, provided it did not exceed 300 pounds per square inch. This decision, though perhaps hastening the failure of gas, lengthened the period of its practical application in industry and domestic consumption several years, for when gas began to fail more rapidly compressing stations were put in to assist the flow.

suit came up in Blackford county which decided the case. The State Supervisor of Gas brought suit to enforce the law, which was carried to the Supreme Court which upheld the constitutionality of the law, and after that there was little trouble in enforcing it.

A law passed in March, 1891, made it unlawful for a person in any manner whatever, to change, alter or extend a gas pipe or attachment of any kind, or connection through which natural or artificial gas was furnished from the main, without permission from the owner. It was unlawful, also, to enlarge the orifice of mixers or to use gas for heating with a gas burner for any person, unless employed by the company to set on fire any gas escaping from wells, broken or leaking pipes, or to interfere in any way with appliances.

This law was necessary for two reasons. The water main of the Broad Ripple mains, apparently with malicious intent, was an instance of one thing that had to be provided for. It was a very cold period, and before the break could be repaired much suffering from cold was reported. The official records of the case, were not found. Again, that part of this act which provided for lighting gas escaping from a leak, or broken pipe, was for the safety of the public. Many of the main lines of gas had been carelessly laid by inexperienced men. A citizen smelled escaping gas. He took it upon himself to go and hunt for the leak. It was possible that a costly explosion would follow. The clause forbidding the enlargement of the orifices of mixers was graveled in early as 1895. By 1900 it would have been practically impossible to find an unbored mixer in Indianapolis and its suburbs.

The legislature sometimes showed great laxity in gas conditions, and passed very faulty laws. An example of this is the Act of March 4, 1891, providing for the plugging of abandoned wells. This law provided as follows: "If well has been shot there shall be put at the bottom of the well a plug of pine wood of not less than one-half inch of that of the well; to extend not less than one foot above the salt water level. The plug shall be rammed in. After ramming, the hole shall be filled with sand and rammed to a point four feet above the level of the ground."

[illegible]

In
 the
 No
 in
 for
 of
 is to
 a la
 Ough
 bites
 da
 ge
 Form
 nam
 ies,
 be
 lan
 gre
 as, K
 of In
 ives in
 this resu

obtain appropriations for the expense thereof, if such appropriations are needed;

Resolved, further, That these resolutions be communicated to the other historical societies of the States formed from the Northwestern Territory, with a request that they take a similar action.

AN EARLY TRADES UNION.

AT a meeting of the majority of the Tailors of the Burrough of Vincennes, held in the shop of Jacob Shull & Francis Cross, on the 18th day of May, 1816, for the purpose of establishing a regular price for work done in their line of business in the future; and after some deliberation established the following prices, to-wit:

For making—	Dol. Cts.
A gentleman's great coat	6
A cloak	3
A gentleman's dress coat	5
A frock coat.....	5
A surtout	5 50
A waistcoat	2
Pantaloon	2
Hussars	2 75
Sharrivallies.....	3 50
Short Breeches	2 50
Round-about.....	2 50
Dragoon's coat.....	5

Summer Clothing.—Gingham or Cotton, for making coat, \$4.50. Flannel flips on foxing pantaloons, \$1. Lady's coat, from four dollars to six dollars and fifty cents.

Minor's Clothing.—Over ten and under 16 years of age, half price.

For cutting out a coat, \$1. Pantaloons or vests, 37½c.

H. RUBLE,
HUGH KELLY,
JACOB SCHULL,
FRANCIS CROSS.

May 23, 1816.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

Published by the Indiana Historical Society

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

Mr. George S. Cottman, after carrying on for three years almost unaided the work and the responsibility necessary in starting and maintaining the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, has been compelled this month on account of absence from the State to turn the magazine over to other hands. The present number, however, has been gotten out almost entirely by him and from material which he had collected. It was felt by members of the Indiana Historical Society that the magazine which Mr. Cottman had started was of too great importance and that the momentum which it had accumulated through his efforts was too hardly won to be lost through his absence. With this support, and at the request of Mr. Cottman, the present editor has undertaken the task of editing the magazine for the current year. He bespeaks the cooperation of all who are interested in Indiana and local history. All communications should be addressed to the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History*, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

The American Historical Association will hold its so-called "western" annual meeting in the last days of December, 1910. The annual meeting is held west of the Alleghany mountains once every three years, the last one having been at Madison, Wis., December 27-31, 1907. A movement has been started to secure the next western meeting for Indianapolis. Invitations have been extended by the Historical Section of the State Teachers' Association, the Indiana Historical Society and the Commercial Club of Indianapolis. Other organizations will undoubtedly join in the movement. The executive committee of the American Historical Society decides upon the place of this meeting before the next annual meeting of the Association at Richmond, De-

ember 27, 1908. It is desirable that as many Indiana organizations and societies as possible join in the invitation before that time.

The advantages that would accrue to Indiana, in the impetus toward historical study, from the presence in the capital city of several hundred persons interested in the study and teaching of history, including nearly all the best known historians of the country, need no emphasis. The American Historical Association now has a membership of more than 2,500, and its magazine, "The American Historical Review," is universally recognized as the most important publication of its kind in America. The meeting of this association usually brings with it also the annual meetings of the American Economic and Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Association for Labor Legislation. The papers and discussion in all of these organizations engage the ablest men of the country.

Indianapolis has all the necessary facilities for such meetings; accessibility by numerous railroads, hotel and public hall accommodations, and a large constituency interested in the subject-matter of the meetings. There is no reason why we should not have these conventions. To this end it is necessary to have the cooperation of all societies interested, and desirable to have a largely increased membership from Indiana in these national organizations. Inquiries and communications on the subject may be sent to the editor of this magazine.

CONCERNING THE BELT ROAD.

The following letter from Mr. W. H. Ragan, of Washington City, to Mr. George S. Cottman, needs no introduction:

"DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 30, 1907.

"I have been very much interested in reading the December number of your Magazine of History, for which I sincerely thank you. Early history of railroading in Indiana, as told by you, is valuable history and should be cherished by all native Hoosiers, who should feel great pride in what the railroads have so well helped to accomplish.

"While at home recently I was impressed with the great results growing out of the Belt Railway and could only conjecture what might have been had that great enterprise failed. Certainly much of the through business, especially the shipping of live stock, would have avoided Indianapolis by finding other routes. I think, in that event, Indianapolis would have been a good and prosperous city, but it must have fallen far short of its present proportions, and, to a greater or less extent, would the whole of central Indiana have suffered. One of the most inexplicable things connected with my public career is that both the Marion county Senators, in the session of 1877, should have bitterly opposed the legislation that was necessary in the project of its construction.

"Speaking of railroads reminds me of a prediction that was made in my hearing almost a third of a century ago, which is now almost verified. While traveling in company with the late Charles R. Peddle, then the master machinist of the Vandalia railroad, and while passing the neglected and unused bed of an old canal, I asked if the railroad was ever to be superseded by some other and better method of transit, as the canal had been by the railroad? He said not in its essential principles—that the plan of the track and of the carriages moving on the track would never be essentially changed, but the motor was to be different. I asked in what way, to which he said electricity would supersede steam. At that time there was not an electric motor other than, possibly, mere toys, in existence. Now, it would appear that his prediction is almost a reality.

"Respectfully,

W. H. RAGAN."

Referring to an error inserted by the editor into an old Henry Ward Beecher letter concerning Indianapolis, which Mr. Ragan had supplied for the last number of this magazine, he says:

"By the way, I regret that you said in brackets [county fair].* It was a fair held by the Indiana Horticultural Society in October, 1842. The one prize that was awarded was to my father—a set of silver teaspoons, and I have two of them, inscribed 'Premium 1842. I. H. S.' (Indiana Horticultural Society)."

*This occurs on page 189 (1907).—Editor.

WAYNE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The regular meeting of this society was held at the county court-house in Richmond, Saturday afternoon. 29. The purchase of fire-proof cases for keeping collections, and the receipt of several old papers and articles from the Starr family were reported. There included, among other numbers, a short paper upon the history of New Garden township, written by Francis W. C. read by Professor Hodgkin, "Pioneer Reminiscences," by Symons, and an account of the "Founding of the Economy by a Volunteer Association," contributed by Osborne, of Spiceland, and read by Eli Jay. The officers were elected: President, Professor C. W. retary, Professor W. O. Wissler; vice-president, treasurer, Harry E. Penny; advisory members, Lee Ault, Cambridge City, and Mrs. Helen V. ville.

DECEASED—GENERAL JOHN COBURN

January 28, 1908.

General Coburn was, at the time of his death, president of the Indiana Historical Society. He was active in serving the interests of the history. In the old days when the books of the society were carelessly stored in the Marion court-house they were by his personal direction probably saved and by him put in a safe place of deposit. He contributed to the publications of the Indiana Historical Society an article in collaboration with Judge Horner on the "Life and Services of John B. Dillon." He also wrote an article upon the Supreme Court of Indiana for the same publication.

General Coburn was a maker of history in Indiana. Born in Indianapolis, October 27, 1821, he was for many years prominent, not only in the city, but in the State. He served in the Civil War with distinction. He was a Judge of the Circuit Court for Marion and Hendricks counties, and Representative in Congress from 1861 to 1863. At that time he had been one of the oldest, if not the oldest, Indianapo-
Indianapolis born in the city.

h
m
any
akes
in-
l, for
s, and
ent.
ring in
ore, and
f adven-
rs among
counts of
documents
e of these,
uction from
grave, a cap-
edly informa-
ranger service
eburg as early
seem heretofore
st student of In-
of it whatever,
service that was
in 1813. Of the
e found in Captain
They further reveal
and show as no other
as a ferment and a
battle of Tippecanoe
the characters of both
in a light that a biog-
niss.
this book should have,
is to convey the impres-
stinct addition to our too

liday, A. C. Harris, Charles W. ... should have a place in
J. P. Dunn. ... be secured for \$1.75

HISTORY

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

Professor H. Morse Stephens delivered three lectures in the Studies of Indianapolis under the auspices of the Indiana Historical Society, The Bobbs-Merrill Co. under the auspices of the Indiana Historical Society and the School Board of Indianapolis. His subjects, "The Romans in Indiana," "The School Board of Indianapolis," and "The Teaching of History in the Indiana Historical Society," appeared December, 1907. His papers, "Pook's Hill," "A Change in the History of Indiana," and "Sickney." It is an excellent work. It is an excellent work, covering the history of the western European History, and is a valuable addition to older works, covering the life of Napoleon; the history of the whites and the development of the South.

Professor Albert B. ... about 1847. While intended to be a history of the South, it is interesting and should be of value to the student. "The Real South" and "The Real South" facilitates reference to it. States."

BOOK

WILLIAM HENRY

The Indiana ... of its publication ... of Indiana Territory ... Ohio. It covers ... this period in the ... a study necessary ... already accessible ... scattered in ... a large amount ... the available ... interesting ... "Letters of ... on General ... pamphlet ... fact that ... out their ... same style ... be obtained

INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

JUNE, 1908

No. 2

INDIANA ARCHIVES AND HISTORY.

BY HARLOW LINDLEY,

Director Department of Indiana Archives and History, Indiana State Library.

THE subject of history is constantly receiving more attention by the masses of the people in the United States. This interest is being shown in a variety of ways. The older States of the Union have for years provided for the preservation of their history, and many of the western States have, from their early years, made some such provision. Indiana is far behind many of the States of the Mississippi valley in this regard, but a public sentiment is being aroused which may yet yield valuable results for the State before all the original materials have been lost through accident or ignorance. There has been a sad neglect of the official records and publications in years past, and through the various movements of the records in connection with the moving and rebuilding of the Capitol much valuable material has been irrevocably lost. There has never been a suitable place for the preservation and arrangement of the archives of the State not in daily use, and no attempt has been made to keep the records of the State not in active use in a systematic way.

The neglect has not been the fault of the officials, for they could not know of the older records of the offices and have not had time to concern themselves with those records not in daily use.

In the March, 1906, meeting of the State Library Board, at the suggestion and upon the recommendation of Mr. W. E. Henry, then State Librarian, the board approved of the establishment of a Department of Archives and History, as a department of the State Library, with a director to have charge of the

meager historical literature, and that it shows every collection of this character. It can be obtained by addressing the author, Col. William M. Smith, City, Ind. GEO.

A series of pamphlets entitled *Civic Studies* is announced, to be published by The Board of the auspices of the Commercial Club and the City of Indianapolis. The first number appears, *Pioneer Indianapolis*, by Ida Stearns Stickney, a sketch with four illustrations, compiled from the opening of central Indiana to the development of Indianapolis down to about 1850. chiefly for use in the schools, it is interesting for general use as well. A brief index facilitates reference. 68 pp.

work. The work of this department was not until the summer of 1907. It was pursued actively. As the work progresses it will more and more own scope, but from the first the following lines: To collect manuscript materials, official, that bear upon any phase of the history. The work will consist of discovering and organizing of historical value that are now held by the State and which are of no value to the department. Such documents should be collected and deposited in the Library, but if for any reason they may not be at their present locations, the State Library should have an index record of what they are and where they are by investigators, and if possible some note of their value and trustworthiness.

This branch of the work will also include the collection of documentary material, such as old letters, etc., from people, and to collect these if possible, and if they are secured by the State, then such an index should be made in the Library as will indicate their nature and value.

The second phase of the work following the collecting and organizing will be arranging and indexing and cataloguing the material. This work has been easily outlined as a policy, but will be carried out in the process.

The additional kindred line that follows the two above outlined is the making for the State a record as may be valuable to indicate the progress of historical especially bearing upon our State and its people. Individuals possessing by other libraries, but which we can get. Much valuable data has example, the Congressional Library, the Indiana Historical Society Library, as well as many others. The material which in a way belongs to the State and which we never obtain. We must, however, make a list of the northern and one and where it may be found when it is needed.

While this synopsis gives a general outline of the work planned for the new division, it is not intended to give from this that the State Library will be able to do. Elkhart, South Bend, and the southern trip in-

Albany,

and indi-
his has fur-
h neighbor-
partment in

local history has
y a large number
sections and coun-
ishes the means of
an not be otherwise
de easily and perma-
s secured a storehouse

rtment to cooperate with
in securing local historical
s of the department can not
only by persevering effort and
ministered that the best results
n weeks' work of last summer
ction to the possibilities of this
early action in securing for the
h are rapidly being burned or dis-
Many personal illustrations could
ed during the summer of the great
lines.

i this department of the State Library
i archives of the State which are not in
and decay; also to discover, collect and
connected with the history of Indiana.

provision has been made for this work, yet
rtment should provide not only for the care
ves of the State, but also the following:
and pamphlets relating to Indiana.
s of Indiana authors.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory, begun and held in the town of Corydon, Monday, August 15th, 1814, and continuing the journal to Friday, December 21st, 1816.

Report of the Commission in behalf of the State of Indiana, duly appointed by the General Assembly of said State to select and locate a site for the permanent seat of government, dated June 7th, 1820. Nine signers, attested to by signature of clerk. The report is lying loose in the back of the book containing the Constitution of 1816.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Executive Government of the Indiana Territory, Vincennes, July 4th, 1800, 81 pages, followed by Executive proceedings under the government of the State of Indiana, November 7th, 1816-November 2d, 1823.

Journal of the House of Representatives of Indiana Territory, begun and held at the town of Vincennes, Monday, February 1st, 1813, up to and including March 12th, 1813.

In the back of this volume is a record of Executive Proceedings November 9th, 1822-January 10th, 1823.

Other departments of the State government will be examined likewise in the future for historical data.

Outside of the State departments the following work has been accomplished:

1. As the result of an agreement between the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana State Library, the materials of the former were carefully examined, and fifty bound volumes and a large collection of pamphlets and periodicals of historical interest not in the State Library were added to the Library.

2. Several visits have been made to individuals possessing private collections in Indianapolis, and much valuable data has been thus gained.

3. Outside of Indianapolis two trips of two weeks' duration each have been made—one through the northern and one through the southern part of the State.

The northern trip included Goshen, Elkhart, South Bend, Notre Dame, Laporte and Logansport, and the southern trip

cluded Terre Haute, Vincennes, Paoli, Corydon, New Albany, Jeffersonville and Louisville, Ky.

In each of these places valuable data were secured and individuals were personally interested in the work. This has furnished a basis for a series of correspondents in each neighborhood which may prove of much assistance to the department in the future.

4. An important step in the preservation of local history has been made by securing regularly for the Library a large number of local newspapers, representing the various sections and counties of the State. The local newspaper furnishes the means of preserving local history in a way which can not be otherwise accomplished, and when these files are made easily and permanently available by binding, the State has secured a storehouse of information of great value.

It will be the purpose of the Department to cooperate with local historical societies over the State in securing local historical material for public use. The activities of the department can not be limited to one institution. It is only by persevering effort and through cooperation carefully administered that the best results for all can be obtained. The ten weeks' work of last summer has served only as an introduction to the possibilities of this work and the urgent need of early action in securing for the State historical materials which are rapidly being burned or disposed of to the junk dealer. Many personal illustrations could be given of instances learned during the summer of the great waste and loss along these lines.

It is in the province of this department of the State Library to preserve the historical archives of the State which are not in current use from ruin and decay; also to discover, collect and classify all materials connected with the history of Indiana.

While no specific provision has been made for this work, yet ultimately the department should provide not only for the care of the official archives of the State, but also the following:

1. All books and pamphlets relating to Indiana.
2. All writings of Indiana authors.

Journal
tory, be
15th, 181
1816.

Report
duly app
and loca
June 7th
clerk. T
ing the C

Journal
Indiana
by Exec
Indiana.

Journal
begun an
1st, 1813.

In the
ings Nov
Other d
likewise in

Outside
accomplish

1. As t
torical Soc
the former
and a large
interest no

2. Sever
private coll
been thus

3. Outsi
each have
through the

The north
Notre Dame

CHAPTER OF HISTORY

as private letters, journals,

newspapers and periodi-

institutional development of
proceedings of conventions, con-
gatherings of religious organi-
and announcements of educa-

the attention of the people,
in the form of gifts or deposits

also be rendered the State by the
of all the publications authorized
by a general index of official
by the collation and publication
newspapers; by the publication of
upon the development
ways.

department of administration
amount of material possession
properly classified and catalogued
of official materials
of the State.

legislation in some States. The
provides:

other official is hereby au-
discretion, to turn over to the
for permanent preservation
his documents, original papers,
not in current use in their
copies thereof shall be made
application of any persons in-
shall have all the force and effect
in the custody of them, and
be charged, to be collected in ad-
law.

Collection of such material would furnish the facts of the history of the State, and would doubtless prove that the history of individuals is frequently uncertain.

There are in the State many people of influence who are interested in this work and are willing to give it their support in any reasonable way. The theory back of the establishment of this department is based on the importance of State archives, from practical and historical considerations, and on the necessity of bringing them all together in one central repository. They are to be arranged, indexed and made readily accessible. The result of the establishment of such a department recognition of old papers, denominated by many as so much worthless trash and rubbish, and to rescue from loss and destruction many documents which would otherwise be consigned to the junk-man and paper-mill.

The first aim of the department should be to secure and save; and then as rapidly as possible to bind, classify, catalogue and publish for the benefit of the investigator.

Many States, notably Massachusetts, New York, West Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Iowa, Kansas and Wisconsin, are carrying on this work in some form or other, on a practical, substantial basis.

Shall Indiana, recognized as a leader in educational work, be behind her sister States, who are carrying on this phase of work so efficiently?

Our State has some individuals, historical societies and some educational institutions that do something in the way of collecting and preserving the history of our people, but it is not within the power of individuals, historical societies or educational institutions, in any American State, to collect and preserve in systematic order the history, biography, public documents, state papers, legislative journals, executive messages, proceedings and reports of boards of regents and directors of State institutions, educational and otherwise; minutes of conferences, presbyteries, synods and other meetings of religious bodies; proceedings of grand lodges and secret benevolent societies, and other social

3. Private manuscripts, such as diaries, scrap-books, etc.

4. Old and current files of Indianaicals.

5. All literature bearing upon the State, such as minutes and proceedings and associations, official gazettes, and catalogues, bulletins and publications of national institutions.

By keeping these needs before us, much material may be obtained in the future without any financial outlay.

Much valuable service might also be rendered by the State since its organization of reports and other documents; the issue of a list of accessible Indiana original source material bearing on the State, and in a variety of other ways.

There is doubtless in every county of the State government a large amount of historical value which should be preserved for intelligent use. The same is true of the records found in every county court.

The situation has been noted in the law in Alabama and Mississippi.

"Any State, county, municipality, or individual authorized and empowered to preserve the Department [Archives and Records] therein, any official books, papers, newspaper files and printed matter in its offices. When so submitted to the Department and certified by the Director, the same shall be considered as deposited in the Department, as if made by the official deposit, for which the same shall be a receipt." Kansas has

WAR IN CLAY COUNTY.

... canal history is taken from the *Brazil*

... r, which covered an area of a section
... lly a thousand acres, lying immediately
... vn of Saline, was constructed in the year
... early part of the following year, at a cost
... al company. The embankment which con-
... ater is now the graded wagon road leading
... e creek bottom from the C. & E. I. railroad

... ed to the maintenance of this body of water
... moving the timber on the ground, for the reason
... prove deleterious and threatening to the public

... of February, 1854, a public meeting was held at
... of George Moss, Sr., the two-story, hewn-log house
... ing on the bluff half-way between the site now occu-
... e town of Ashboro and Birch Creek, Sugar Ridge
... (Shington) township, to take counsel on the public in-
... volved. This meeting was addressed by Daniel Dun-
... Dick Johnson township, who was then the county's rep-
... tive in the State Legislature, when it was declared by
... ion that there should be no let up in hostilities against the
... any until the demand of the public for the removal of the
... er should be conceded and carried out. Notwithstanding
... decisive action of the meeting, the company ignored the
... ublic grievance and proceeded to fill up the feeder.

The first overt act on the part of the people expressive of their
... disapproval and resentment of the course pursued by the com-
... pany was a slight cut in the embankment at some time in the
... month of May, inflicting but little damage, which was soon re-
... paired. But on the night of the 22d day of June following a gap
... of a hundred feet was cut, through which flowed out practically

orge
prog
any
ann
cha
tra
and
life
ma
get
to
eve
cal
ser
hov

the
Hi
wi
tor
bro
oth
son
fici
wh
sub

the
see
far
we
ali
Sor
pas
this
nev
era

~~THE ASSAULT ON THE RESERVE~~

THE ASSAULT ON THE RESERVE
ON THE 10TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1891,
AT THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:

ON THE 10TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1891,
AT THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:

THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:
THE RESERVE OF THE
INDIAN RESERVE, IN THE
STATE OF ARIZONA, THE
FOLLOWING OCCURRED:

upon the company's works says that there were in the party one hundred and fifty-four men, half of whom were armed with rifles and most of the others with spades and shovels, all having blacked faces. Then it was, on the urgent solicitation of the trustees of the canal company, that the Governor called out the militia to suppress the violence being done to the company's property, which gave rise to the so-called "Reservoir War" in our local history.

The proclamation of the Governor calling out the military brought Clay county to the notice of the outside world. In the *Cincinnati Commercial* of corresponding date appeared the following exhaustive paragraph from the vocabulary of causticity in the characterization of Clay county and its people:

"We were yesterday surprised to receive a paper from Clay county, Indiana. We did not suppose that the people read the papers in that swampy, sloppy, soggy, sticky, stinking, stifling, stubborn, starving, subsidiary, slaving, slavish, swinish, sheepish, sorrowfully dark, desolate, direful, devilish, dim, doleful, downcast, dirty, despairing, deluded, degenerate, dismal, dreary, driveling, demoniac, dilapidated locality, where public works are destroyed, and the officers whose duty it is to defend the laws, with blacked faces trample them under foot. On first opening this paper we felt hopeful, thinking there would be light shining in the midst of darkness, but instead we found that the *Clay County Citizen* only makes darkness visible, as it is the organ of the canal cutters."

To ask who cut the reservoir embankment is but to paraphrase "Who struck Billy Patterson?" If any of them be yet living they are known only to themselves. The writer never learned to know but three of the whole number, and they passed away some years ago.

M. ARTZ.

THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF INDIANA

A LETTER OF SOLON ROBINSON'S.

[Solon Robinson was one of the first and most prominent settlers of the county, sometimes called "The Squatter-King of Lake." He was for a time postmaster, and was generally active in public affairs. He was a fluent and entertaining writer and he exercised his talent. See T. H. Ball's "Lake County, 1834-1871" and "Lake County, 1884," pp., 465, 483.]

From the Madison, Indiana, Republican and Banner, January 1884.

ROBINSON'S
OAKLAND COUNTY, IA. [IN]
DECEMBER

MESSERS. LODGE & PATRICK*: I avail myself of the privilege of addressing you, and through you, of conveying information, not only of myself, but of the country that I am about to describe, to be interesting to my friends and acquaintances and my readers.

Your first inquiry will be, "Where is the place from?" It is the territory which forms the northwest corner of Indiana, lying west of Laporte county and between the Lake Michigan and the Lake Erie. Being one of the first counties to have named it "Oakland county," as descriptive of the timber in it. This prairie having no other name, and having moved the first white family onto it, it has been called "Solon's Prairie" by way of distinction. My location is about ten miles southwest of Michigan City on the old Sioux trail, leading in the direction of Peoria, Ill., and about thirty miles southeast of Chicago, and on the dividing ridge between the lakes and the Mississippi. I can not give you a full idea of this country. To say it is rich and beautiful is to say nothing. It is the first fine country I ever saw. I am not of the north part of the State generally. You have never seen Door Prairie described. Description gives you no

*Publishers of the *Madison Republican and Banner*.

real splendor of the green when it first breaks upon the view. I had seen many prairies before, but never such an one. My intention, when I left Madison, was to have settled upon it. Knowing that it was only two or three years since it began to settle, I expected to find much vacant land. Instead of that it is nearly all claimed and already wears the appearance of an old settled country. Good frame houses and barns built and building, with such a multitude of stacks of hay and grain that it looks like the great storehouse of the world. And yet, with all this abundance, grain is already becoming high and scarce. The influx of "newcomers" is beyond calculation. Land is rising in value most wonderfully, and yet when compared with some other countries it never can reach a value sufficiently high to compare with its real worth. "Congress improvements" are frequently sold on the Door Prairie from \$500 to \$2,000 for quarter-sections. Every emigrant's desire is to get upon the most valuable location he can find, so that his improvements will rise in value before the land comes into market, which will not be until next summer or later.

Not finding a situation in Laporte county that suited me, I was at some loss what to do, when I accidentally met with the surveyors just returned from their survey in this territory. They informed me that there was a large tract of country entirely unsettled which was not only equally as fertile as the Door Prairie, but in other respects better. I immediately procured an Indian pony, furnished myself with provisions and a blanket, took notes and a plat of the country from the surveyors and in company with one other person started out on an exploring tour. I soon found the spots pointed out to me as first rate on my plat, and upon one of them made my pitch, returned to Laporte and procured hands to help build a cabin and moved my family on directly, some fifteen or twenty miles beyond "the last house," and in one week after we camped upon this spot I had a comfortable log cabin eighteen feet square, as well finished off as could be expected thirty-five miles from a saw-mill. I came onto this prairie the 1st of November, at which time I could have said with the poet of Juan Fernandes—

"I am monarch of all I survey.

My right there is none to dispute."

but now there is about a dozen houses in sight, and no claims made for others, though as yet I have but one neighbor within ten miles. This is an arm of the "Grand Prairie" and is most beautifully interspersed with groves of timber which consist of white, black, yellow, red and burr oak and quantities of shellbark hickory and some other timber. streams and springs are also plenty. In the grove where I built there is an abundance of crab-apple, plum and cherry and, above all, there are a great number of "honey trees" in the country. The soil on this prairie is composed of twelve to eighteen inches of dry, black vegetable matter on top, then one to two feet of loose, clayey loam, under which is a hard layer of limestone and pebbly clay. Stone is not plenty, though for the most necessary purposes can be obtained easily. Lumber is scarce; rail and other timber abundant and excellent and fuel the best I ever saw, particularly oak, which when perfectly green will ignite as easily and burn as well as I ever saw seasoned hickory or sugar tree do in the south part of this State. As to the healthfulness of the country, I can only say that everybody says it is so, and everybody's personal appearance confirms the belief that the say-so is true. The badness of my health was my inducement for leaving the Ohio river, as there seemed no prospect of my ever recovering it. Here I have become as hearty as ever I was in my life—completely restored. I most earnestly wish that many of my friends could partake of the benefits of this country. The north end of Indiana will certainly become the garden spot of the State. A very erroneous impression has been long impressed upon the public in regard to the country purchased of the Pottawattamies in 1832, lying in this State. It has ever been represented upon the map of the State as one immense swamp, but instead of that being the case it is directly the contrary. Ten thousand acres of fine, high prairie to one of swamp is more correct. Nearly all the streams are bordered with marsh, on which grows the most luxuriant crop of grass, which affords the greatest abundance of good

to the new settlers. So that instead of being a detriment to the settlement of the country, it is the greatest advantage—and as the water of these marshes is generally pure spring water and no decaying timber on them, they are in no way unhealthy. In fact, there is no decaying timber here (the great cause of miasma) even in the timbered land. It is all burnt up annually, as the Indians make it a point to fire the prairies every fall, and all of the timber here is so combustible that it burns so entirely as to leave no trace even of the stumps. Perhaps this is the way that the prairies are first made.

There appear to be but few Indians now in the country. There are three wigwams on the bank of a most beautiful lake abounding in fish, geese, ducks and muskrats, about four miles from my house. The wigwams are built of sticks and covered with long grass and flag matting, and are about ten or twelve feet in diameter, with a small fire and a great smoke in the center, around which the family sit or lie on a few skins or blankets. * * * And yet these are a cheerful, happy people. Their dress usually consists of moccasins, broadcloth or buckskin leggings, a kind of kilt, and sometimes a shirt, and over all a blanket loosely thrown. They are frequently at my house to “swap” *suc-se-we-ors* (venison) for *buck-we-an* and *quass-gun* (flour and bread), or *po-ke-min* (cranberries) and musquas skins for *sum-ma* (tobacco) and *daw-mien* (corn). They are quiet and civil, but not quite so neat as might be. Their besetting sin is a love of whisky—an awful curse that white men have inflicted upon them. I blush to say that there are men in Indiana that will strip an Indian of his last blanket by whisky. They are fast falling before the sweeping pestilence of drunkenness. One of the coldest nights of this winter one of the poor wretches lay out upon this prairie, having pawned his best blanket for whisky enough to murder him.

Some persons who would like to emigrate to the Pottawatamie country are deterred from it by fear of the Indians. Such, if once here, would dismiss their fears. They are by no means unpleasant neighbors—besides it is probable that they will all leave the country in the course of the next summer for their new home west of the Mississippi. Others are deterred from emi-

grating in consequence of the land not yet being in market. No difficulty is to be apprehended from making improvements before purchasing. Congress provided for all of the settlers of 1833 at the last session by a removal of the pre-emption law. No doubt the same favor will be extended to those who have settled since that time at the present session of Congress. If not, the claims of settlers are most singularly respected by common custom. For instance, a person comes here and looks at a piece of land that suits him. He will perhaps lay the foundation of a cabin, is "claimed" or located, and no person will interfere or presume to settle upon it without first purchasing the first claimant's right. There is a vast body of most beautiful country yet unclaimed in this purchase. Thousands of "first rate chances" may yet be had on this prairie and in the groves adjoining. I have no doubt but that the rush of emigrants into "Oakland county" will be as great for three years to come as it has been into Laporte county for three years past. The growth of this country to an Eastern or Southern man is most wonderful. The majority of the inhabitants are Yankees, and those, too, who are not only comfortable, but "well to live." One good evidence of the good quality of the inhabitants is to be seen in the numerous schoolhouses and the scarcity of grog shops. There is a great demand for mechanics. The communication of New York by the lakes is so easy that merchandise is not high, but labor and provisions of all kinds are quite so, when compared with the prevailing prices on the Ohio river.

Michigan City, which is the only landing place at present on Lake Michigan in this State, presents one of the most singularly rapid growths I ever knew. It is now in reality a small city. One year ago it contained only three log cabins. There is much fine white pine timber near the city, and Trail creek affords good mill privileges, on which are several mills.

Although this is a very level country, there are an abundance of mill privileges on never failing streams, which possess the singular feature of never rising or falling except a mere trifle.

If you think my present sketch may be interesting to your readers, I will probably give you a continuation of it hereafter.

Yours, etc.,

SOLON ROBINSON.

THE FIRST INDIANA HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

BY W. H. RAGAN.

[Extracts from a paper read at the annual meeting of the Indiana Horticultural Society, 1906, and printed in full in the proceedings of the Society for that year.]

IN August, 1840, I saw my father and mother, each well mounted, he with saddlebags filled to their uttermost capacity, and she with a good-sized bag swinging from the horn of her saddle, vanish from view into the wilderness that well nigh surrounded our cabin home, and for a period of almost or quite a week they were gone from us. On their return they had much to tell us about their visit to the great city and of the many things they saw and heard while gone. They had attended the first meeting of the Indiana Horticultural Society; indeed helped organize the society and had displayed the fruit they had carried with them, in saddlebags and pannier, at the exhibition that was held in the "Hall of the new State House," which had been graciously granted them for the purpose. The meeting was held on the 22d day of August, 1840. James Blake was president and H. P. Coburn acted as secretary. Many others besides my good parents had assembled themselves together on that occasion, with the common purpose in view of effecting an organization for the promotion of horticulture in our then new State. The movement was largely inspired by the leading spirit of the late Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, then a resident of Indianapolis, and pastor of one of its pioneer churches. At the time of this meeting the *Indiana Farmer* was in its first volume, as a monthly, though for three years prior to that date an irregularly published weekly, bearing the same name, had been conducted by John Osborn and J. S. Willets. In 1840 Mr. Willets became sole proprietor of the monthly *Indiana Farmer* and its columns gave abundant evidence of his cordial support of the newly born Horticultural Society. At the close of the year 1840, or soon thereafter, Mr.

Beecher assumed the editorial charge of the paper, after which its name was changed to *Indiana Farmer and Gardener*, which became the official organ of the society during the succeeding five years of its existence, or until Mr. Beecher returned East.

Of those who participated in this early meeting, my parents often spoke in their later life. Indeed, it was an epoch in their otherwise quiet lives, and the theme was so fascinating to them that it was so frequently reiterated in the hearing of us children, that I have often felt as though I had really "been there," and that the story was as an original story. I have already said that Mr. Beecher was chairman of this first meeting and that General John acted as secretary, and that Mr. Martin Williams, Benjamin Morton, James Sigerson, Joshua Lindley and others were contributors to the exhibition. The exhibition was a success, but many fine and rare specimens were lost. Joshua Lindley exhibited a specimen of the State of the justly celebrated "Honey" near. It was too precious to handle it and "sniff" it. The exhibition it was pre- sumed that, later, had the "Honey" mellow in a few years and we can recom- mend it from a historical point of view since, from that time, it has been our most

annual meeting of the fall of the occasion a much larger number of flowers that the present genera- tion has brought forth by the way, was to be

competed for, and that one a set of silver teaspoons for the best seedling apple. There were a number of competitors for this prize, which, in the hands of a competent committee, was finally awarded to a seedling that originated in Putnam county and that was exhibited by Reuben Ragan. The spoons are yet in the family, two of the six having fallen to the writer's share of his father's estate, and it is needless to add that they are highly prized as interesting and valuable souvenirs of early-day horticulture in Indiana. Mr. Beecher was a member of the committee that made the award and he also proposed the name, "Osceola," a name that the apple has since borne. Osceola, for whom the apple was named, was the brave and daring chief of the Seminoles, who had then but recently pined and dined in the military prison at Fort Moultrie, Charleston, S. C., a victim to the treachery of "pale-faced warriors."

The attendance at this third annual meeting of the society embraced, among others, the names of James Blake, James M. Ray, A. G. Willard, J. S. Willets, Nathaniel West, Aaron Aldridge, James Sigerson, Joseph Beeler, H. W. Beecher, Sherman Day, J. L. Richmond, L. Munsell, John Hobart, Abner Pope, C. W. VanHouten, Joshua Lindley, Calvin Fletcher, H. P. Coburn, A. F. Morrison, Powell Howland, Reuben Ragan, Martin Williams, C. R. Overman, Andrew Hampton, Cornelius Ratliff, Z. S. Ragan, George W. Merritt, N. Noble, William S. Hubbard and others of that day and generation, besides many of their wives and daughters. I well remember seeing my father and mother, with over-burdened saddlebags and pannier, leaving home to attend this meeting, and their return with the much-coveted prize they had won, and the stories they had to relate of the things they saw and the people they met, and these are some of the pleasant recollections of my child-life.

It is probable that the meeting and exhibition of 1842 marked the high tide of the society's existence, under its original organization. At any rate the organization ceased to exist, as such, with the return to the East of its chief promoter, the Rev. H. W. Beecher, which event, I think, occurred early in 1847. It is an honor and a credit alike to the horticulturists of our State that

in the great West, now the home of
the kind in existence, should
be maintained, and that, too, by men whose
names have been handed down through their own
and their families' memories!

When we speak of the "reorganiza-
tion" we were not given the exact name of the
organization, the "Indiana Horticultural Society"
was not the name, it was "Indiana Pomological So-
ciety" in 1860, but at the second bi-
ennial meeting in January, 1863, the name was
changed to "Horticultural Society" and its meetings there-
after. The immediate credit of the
organization belongs more to
the present. At the Indiana State
Fair in 1860 about twenty persons
met in the insurance office of
the Indiana street, Indianapolis.
The smallness of the number present,
Robert Ragan was chosen presi-
dent, Theodore J. W. Tenbrook and
H. Loomis, secretary, and

The Society of to-day had its be-
ginning on the occasion mentioned by Mr.
Lewis. At that event, Lewis
of Washington county; Gard-
ner of Fletcher, Jr., Marion county;
A. Loyd, Tippecanoe
Snepp, Johnson coun-
A. Warder, Cincinnati.
among the "several other"
county; John C. Teas,
county.

At the next meeting and Thomas
the origin of an organization was

of
184:
larg
and
wou
tion
any t.

agreed upon, a committee consisting of Mr. Loomis, G. Goldsmith and E. Y. Teas having reported the same, after which a committee consisting of Dr. Warder, G. Goldsmith and E. Y. Teas reported the list of officers enumerated above, and the meeting adjourned to reconvene in the nursery office of Fletcher, Williams and Loomis on the following evening to further perfect the organization, etc.

Pursuant to the adjournment from the evening previous, the society reconvened on the evening of October 19, 1860, with a somewhat increased attendance. The president-elect not being present, Dr. George W. Mears, of Indianapolis, was called to preside, and Mr. Loomis took his place at the secretary's desk. Those present on this occasion, in addition to those mentioned as having been present on the previous evening, were: Dr. George W. Mears, of Marion; R. E. Ragan, of Hendricks; Dr. J. C. Helm, of Delaware; Abner Pope, of Marion; D. V. Culley, of Marion; John F. Hill, of Marion; Erie Lock, of Marion; Eliphalet Case, of Switzerland, and Thomas B. Morris, of Wayne counties. On motion of William B. Lipsey, of Washington county, a general fruit committee of seven was appointed. It embraced the following named gentlemen: Reuben Ragan, William Miller, E. Y. Teas, John Wright, J. W. Tenbrook, I. D. G. Nelson and W. B. Lipsey.

The first regular session of Indiana Pomological Society convened in the Supreme Court room in Indianapolis on Wednesday, January 9, 1861, in pursuance of adjournment. Reuben Ragan, president-elect, having declined, on account of age and infirmities, Hon. John A. Matson, of Putnam county, was called to preside.

John A. Matson, of Putnam county, was elected president; William Miller, of St. Joseph county; Barnabas C. Hobbs, of Parke county; Oliver Albertson, of Washington county, and Lewis Jones, of Wayne county, vice-presidents; John C. Teas, of Henry county, treasurer, and William H. Loomis, of Marion county, secretary, each to serve for two years. Letters were read from Reuben Ragan declining to serve as president, and from Dr. John A. Warder expressing his deep regret at not being

the fir
the n
have l
spirit
blood

It n
tion"
old, fo
that w
ciety"
ennial
change
after
organi
E. Y.
Fair, b
met on
Mr. M

* *

an org
dent, A
Lewis
John C

Thus
ginning
Teas,
Jones,
ner Go
George
county
ty; Jos
Ohio,
gentler
Henry
Lew
A. Loy

and complimenting the fruit growers
successful organization and its auspicious
business. A constitution was formally adopt-
discussion was indulged in concerning
adaptability to our soils and climate, and
names and various synonyms. It may be
that our fruit nomenclature was, at
and that its correction and improvement
members of the society as its most urgent obli-

three days and finally closed after
varieties of fruits which were recom-
the State for general planting. These
varieties: twelve of pears; one
one of peaches; three of currants;
three of raspberries, and four
in addition to these, a list of fruits
as promising well." At the October
the secretary had been directed to publish
concerning the various fruits and to send
the State. A total of twenty-four re-
and were reported by that officer, who
the meeting. In these several responses the
varieties were mentioned with more or less
correspondents.

session of the society was held in the
State Board of Agriculture in the State
January 7, 1883. The attendance at this
owing to the existence of the War of
at its height. At this meeting the
two important particulars: First,
occur annually thereafter, and sec-
was changed from "Pomological" to
object in this latter change was to
Before it was restricted to the
any topic within the broad field
intimately introduced and discussed.

Hon. I. D. G. Nelson, of Fort Wayne, an intelligent and thoroughly practical horticulturist and extensive fruit grower, was elected president; Gen. Joseph Orr, of Laporte, Lewis Jones, of Wayne, Hon. John C. Shoemaker, of Perry, and W. H. Ragan, of Putnam, vice-presidents; George M. Beeler, of Marion, secretary, and John C. Teas, of Henry, treasurer. Thirty-two paying members, including several of the leading fruit-growers of the State, were enrolled during the meeting. The meeting lasted for three days and the discussions embraced a large list of appropriate subjects. Mr. Sylvester Johnson first became one of us at this session, since which we have had no more faithful and attentive member, he having subsequently served the society for eleven years consecutively as its efficient presiding officer. He is our senior member in years, and but two are now living who antedate his enrollment as a member and who at all times have been constant and faithful to their original obligation. Two lists of fruits, one that was recommended for "general planting" within the State, and one that "promised well," appear in the published proceedings of this meeting. These have proved of great value to the planters of that day and to subsequent generations. No fixed programs were arranged for the early meetings, and prior to that of January, 1864, no formal papers or addresses were read or delivered before the assembled society.

Prior to the year 1866 the society was entirely supported by the membership fees of those who constituted it. In 1866 the Hon. George W. Hoss, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, arranged with the society to place a bound copy of its transactions for that year in each of the then existing township libraries throughout the State. This generous proposition, in addition to the high compliment to the character of the work being accomplished by the society, also enabled it to make a much more favorable contract with the publishers, by reason of the greatly increased number of volumes taken. The reports for this year were also bound in cloth instead of paper, as heretofore. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Hoss, as also to the individual members who, prior to that date, and to a large extent since, have borne the burden of expense in keeping alive our cherished organization.

Below is an alphabetical list of those who were members prior to 1860, and the year in which they were such. By reason of time and space mentioned only the first year of membership is given, in case of each individual, many of whom became annual paying members from and after their first initiation. Indeed this was and has ever been the rule.

Adams, James, 1865; Ashton, Joseph, 1860; Bayless, Lot S., 1864; Beeler, George M., 1860; Blair, J. W., 1865; Bond, S. R., 1865; Bond, Charles D., 1864; Breckert, Ed S., 1865; Burnett, Steven, 1865; Caldwell, H., 1865; Campbell, George W., 1864; Carr, J. F., 1864; Case, Elizabeth, 1860; Conley, John J., 1861; Cox, Prof. E. T., 1864; Culley, D. V., 1860; Darrough, John, 1865; Dicker, James, 1865; Dunlop, John S., 1863; Fatout, D. B., 1863; Fawcett, J., 1865; Fisher, Stearns, 1864; Fitzgerald, T. H., 1865; Fleming, William, 1865; Fletcher, Calvin, 1860; Francis, John T., 1865; Freeman, John, 1865; Furnas, Dr. Allen, 1863; Furnas, Isaac, 1865; Goldsmith, G., 1860; Gregory, J. N., 1865; Harlan, Dr. J. B., 1864; Harrison, A. I., 1863; Helm, Dr. J. C., 1860; Hill, John F., 1860; Holmes, A. J., 1864; Hubbard, William S., 1864; Johnson, F. C., 1864; Johnson, Sylvester, 1863; Jones, Adam, 1865; Jones, Lewis, 1860; King, Edward, 1863; Lang, Louis, 1863; Lipsey, William B., 1860; Little, James A., 1864; Lock, Erie, 1860; Loomis, William H., 1860; Loveland, E. P., 1864; Lowder, Charles, 1864; Loyd, Allen, 1863; Loyd, Thomas A., 1860; Lupton, George, 1864; McCarty, Nicholas, 1863; McConnell, George W., 1864; Mankedick, Henry, 1863; Martin, J. H., 1864; Matson, J. A., 1861; Mears, Dr. G. W., 1860; Mendenhall, C. S., 1861; Miller, William, 1860; Morris, Thomas B., 1860; Morris, Samuel V., 1863; Morrison, Jacob, 1864; Myers, C. F. G., 1865; Nelson, DeGroff, 1864; Nelson, I. D. G., 1861; Nicholson, John H., 1865; Orr, Gen. Joseph, 1864; Parker, Christian, 1865; Pearson, Seth D., 1864; Peters, John, 1861; Poole, Joseph, 1865; Pope, Abner, 1864; Ragan, Dr. A. T., 1863; Ragan, Reuben, 1860; Ragan, Robert, 1860; Ragan, William A., 1863; Ragan, W. H., 1860; Rath, J. C., 1864; Reese, D. E., 1865; Ross, Charles, 1864; Rothrock, V., 1865; Rudisell, H. J., 1864; Schlater, William H., 1864; Shepherd, Rev. L. N., 1864; Shoemaker, J. C.,

1863; Simons, Thomas, 1863; Simpson, Archibald, 1861; Snepp, David J., 1864; Snepp, John, 1860; Springer, J. E., 1864; Sterret, Rev. Alexander, 1864; Stevens, Walter G., 1861; Stone, Gen. A., 1861; Stuart, Zimri, 1865; Tarleton, Caleb, 1863; Teas, Edward Y., 1860; Teas, John C., 1860; Tenbrook, John W., 1860; Thompson, Prof. S. H., 1865; Thornton, H. P., 1865; Troll, George R., 1865; Townsend, J. M., 1863; Trueblood, Abram, 1860; Van Camp, G. C., 1864; Wetmore, S. F., 1864; White, Jesse, 1865; Williams, Jesse L., 1864; Williams, Martin, 1860; Wright, Benjamin H., 1863; Wright, Capt. John, 1860; Young, H. H., 1864.

SAMUEL BIGGER.

Reminiscences by Jacob Julian in the Richmond Palladium. Kindness of Helen V. Austin.

[Mr. Jacob Julian was a native of Centerville and knew intimately the people and scenes of which he wrote. He afterward moved to Irvington, Marion county, and became a prominent lawyer in Indianapolis.]

AMONG the lawyers who during Judge Charles H. Test's time visited Centerville and sometimes appeared in court, was Samuel Bigger, who succeeded Judge Test as circuit judge, and in 1840 was made Governor of the State.

Bigger was a tall, rather fine-looking young man. He was fond of fun, and spent the most of his time playing on the violin in Noble's saloon and in joking with its inmates. He was a good-humored, pleasant fellow, apparently without energy or ambition, and was liked because of his social qualities. While, however, this was the public estimate of him, his intimate friends had confidence in his ability and ultimate success, and when Judge Test left the bench this jolly good fellow, this fiddler of the saloon, was made his successor. People soon found out that he was making an excellent judge. He did not prove an able lawyer, but with his good, strong sense and sterling honesty and

pleasant manners, he succeeded in winning the respect of the people and in making everybody his friend. People loved him for his common ways, his affability and cleverness to all. He made every one at home in his presence, in or out of the courthouse. He had Lincoln's fondness for a joke, without much of his skill in telling one.

It was during these years that George W. Stonestreet, who was a man of extraordinary quickness and wit, especially when intoxicated, lived in Centerville. He was a great favorite of Judge Bigger and was placed by him on perfect equality with himself. One day, in a state of partial intoxication, Stonestreet rode his little pony directly up to the front door of the courthouse, from which Judge Bigger, sitting on the bench in the court-room, which was then downstairs, saw him, and was so much overcome by his ludicrous appearance as to invite him, by an unmistakable motion of his hand, to ride in. The invitation was at once accepted and Stonestreet, on his little pony, presented himself at the bar, and lifting his hat to the judge, turned to the left and escaped by the west side door. Of course, the judge could not complain, and did not, but joined with the lawyers and other persons present in the uproarious laughter which ensued.

Judge Bigger had a boy's fondness for shows of all kinds, and never failed to attend them. Even Governor Hendricks, who never missed a circus in his life, was never more prompt in his attendance on one of these exhibitions than was Bigger.

Samuel Bigger held the office of circuit judge until 1840, when he resigned to make the canvass for Governor on the Whig ticket. He was elected and made a model Governor. He died quite young at Fort Wayne, whither he had removed after the close of his term of office as Governor.

JUDGE CHARLES B. LASSELLE'S NOTES ON ALICE OF OLD VINCENNES.

[The following paper was written by Judge Lasselle several years ago and published, at least in part, in the Logansport and other papers. Extracts from it, and comments upon it, are given in Hubbard M. Smith's "Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes," pp. 34, 286 ff. But as there seem to have been inaccuracies in its production, and as it raises interesting questions, it is here printed practically in full with only a few verbal changes and some unimportant omissions. Judge Lasselle, now living at an advanced age at Logansport, has long been regarded, and rightly so, as authority upon the lore of the Wabash Valley. A contribution from him on the early traders of the State was published in the issue of March, 1906.]

THE story of "Alice of Old Vincennes," by the late Maurice Thompson, is so realistic that a number of the writer's friends have requested him to point out such characters and events as would justify its claim of being an "historical romance." This is no easy task, owing to the employment by the author of anachronism as to the age of Alice and the dates of the events in which she figures, and the great number of the scenes and events, partly historical and partly fictitious, which occur. As to Alice herself, she was a real person, well known to the early inhabitants of Vincennes, as the sequel of this will show. Her real name was Mary Shannon. She was the daughter of Captain William Shannon, one of Colonel George Rogers Clark's most patriotic and gallant officers. We first hear of Captain Shannon through Clark himself. In his "Memoirs," to be found in English's "Conquest of the Northwest," vol. I, p. 531, he states that Captain Shannon was taken prisoner by a party of the enemy while the army was nearing Vincennes. He was taken to the British fort, but released upon the surrender of the fort a day or two afterward. Shortly after the surrender of the fort, Colonel Clark distributed his troops to different points, one part going to Fort Clark, at Kaskaskia; another to Louisville, Ky., under his immediate command there, and another part remained at the fort at Vincennes. Captain Shannon removed with that part

going to Kaskaskia. Here he remained as captain and conductor of the military stores. How long he remained there is not known. A letter from him to Captain Francis Bosseron, conductor of the stores at Vincennes, in possession of the writer, dated June 15, 1779, shows that he was still there at that date. A few years after this, about 1784, he obtained from the Court of Vincennes a tract of land near the village, on the west side of the Wabash river. Many other grants of the same character were also made by the court. This gave offense to the Indians, and especially the Piankeshaw Indians. These Piankeshaws had been great friends of the French. After the defeat of the French and killing of Vincennes by the Chickesaws, of Tennessee, in 1736, the inhabitants of Vincennes entertained great fears of a hostile visit from this numerous and powerful tribe of Indians. The Piankeshaws, who, for time immemorial, had occupied a village called by the French traders "Terrehaute" (highland), at or near the site of the present city of Terre Haute, moved down, in 1742, to Vincennes to protect and defend the inhabitants in case of invasion. At the same time, as claimed by the French and afterward by the Americans, they made a grant of land to the French, extending from a point twenty-five miles above Vincennes to a point twenty-five miles below, and twenty-five miles on each side of the Wabash river—making the tract fifty miles square. But the Piankeshaws, while admitting that they made such grant as to that portion of the land lying east of the Wabash river, denied that they ever made a grant for that portion lying west of the river. Hence, the Piankeshaws and other Indians commenced hostilities.

Mr. Dillon, in his "History of Indiana," p. 184, states that, "notwithstanding the hostile temper of the Indians during the years 1785 and 1786, the court of Post Vincennes continued to grant tracts of land to various French and American adventurers. * * * Of the Americans who attempted to make improvements on such grants, some were killed by the Indians, others became alarmed and retired to Kentucky, and a few remained at Post Vincennes, where they were protected by the French inhabitants."

It was unfortunate that Captain Bosseron did not do as the

other settlers. It was but a short distance, probably less than a mile, from the town. The Indians attacked his home and proceeded to massacre him and his family. Mary attempted to escape, but some of the Indians pursued and brought her back. In her great distress she called upon her Maker for help, exclaiming, "Oh, mon Dieu, oh, mon Dieu." The Indians, recognizing these words as French, supposed her to be a French girl and gave her her liberty. She then hurried toward Vincennes and hailing persons on the opposite bank of the river for help, they took her over in a boat to the village. Here she was soon provided for.

The story of "Alice" tells us that Gaspard Roussillon became her foster father. Was he a real personage? There can be no doubt that Captain Francis Bosseron was the Gaspard Roussillon of the story. In the first place, the story throughout refers to him as mayor and captain. At the time the French inhabitants organized, took possession of the fort and raised the flag, there was no captain of any kind of troops in Vincennes. Upon the return of Father Gibault and his report of the proceedings of the inhabitants of Vincennes, Colonel Clark sent over a captain's commission (now in possession of the writer) to Francis Bosseron. It was written in French, for Clark scarcely knew a word of French, nor Bosseron of English. Translated, it reads as follows:

"No. 1.

"By George Rogers Clark, Esqr., Colonel Commanding East Illinois and its dependencies, etc., etc., etc.

"By virtue of the power and authority vested in me by his Excellency, Patrick Henry, Governor and First Magistrate of Virginia, etc., I name, appoint and constitute you by these presents, captain of a militia company at Poste Vincennes. In consequence of which you will carefully discharge all the duties pertaining to the same.

"Given under my hand and seal at Fort Clark, this 10th day of August, 1778.

G. R. CLARK."

The No. 1 at the left hand corner of the commission shows that it was the first commission issued by him after he and his troops left the falls of the Ohio (now Louisville) on their expedition.

Shannon, Alice's father, was conductor of the military stores at Kaskaskia and Bosseron held the same position at Vincennes. They necessarily were in close correspondence. In the letter of Shannon to Bosseron, dated at Kaskaskia, June 15, 1779, referred to above, he concludes with the words, "My compliments to Madame Bosseron," which he would not likely do unless their families were in close social relations. Bosseron being rich and liberal, it is natural that he should step in and protect the orphaned child of his friend. In this connection it may be remarked that no reference to Bosseron or, indeed, to any other person as captain of the company of French inhabitants who took possession of British Fort Sackville, is made by any of the Indiana historians. Law, Dillon, English and even Mr. Dunn in his thorough history of early times of Indiana, all seem to have implicitly followed Colonel Clark in his "Memoir." This was written by him several years after the events occurred, and with a great number of events to relate from memory, he might well be excused in making some omissions. It is due to the memory of Mr. Thompson to say that, after a very thorough investigation of the subjects of which he wrote, he was the first historian, under the garb of fiction, to give the name of the French captain above referred to.

The incidents of the flag, in the main, are clearly historical, but there are some fictions surrounding it. In Captain Bosseron's book of accounts against Captain Leonard Helm, as the representative or agent of the State of Virginia, he makes, among others, these entries:

1778:

Nov. 4. For having raised the company.....*500 " — "
Nov. 12. Paid to St. Marie for 5 ells of red

*See foot

From these entries we can obtain almost a full and precise description of the flag. It consisted of two stripes—one of red and the other of green. The extra length of the red stripe of $1\frac{3}{4}$ ells—the French ell being 40 inches in length—being taken off to form the shield in its proper place, left the flag about 11 feet in length. Whether or not a coat of arms was blazoned on the shield is not known. Nor is it known exactly what the cost price was. From the figures of Captain Bosseron, whether in French currency or in Virginia currency of $\$3.33\frac{1}{2}$ to the pound, as was usual afterward, it would be a very costly flag.* But it was a famous flag for the reason that it was the first American flag in all that vast extent of country. * * * The quartermaster's office in the War Department at Washington City and Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution contain an abundance of flag lore, but they contain no instance of a display of an American flag west of the Atlantic States.

As to the other characters and events mentioned in "Alice," they were either known to the general reader of Vincennes history or are fictitious. The writer knew "Alice" well in her old age. It so happened that her youngest son, named William Shannon, after her father, and the writer were playmates together, and their families being near neighbors, he often visited her house. In her personal appearance and character she was well described by the author. But he states several times that she was not to be regarded as beautiful. The writer would have thought otherwise, and that in her girlhood days she must have been a beautiful girl. The most prominent features of her character were her independence and kindness. She was, in fact, such a woman that the men would have called her "grand old lady" and the ladies "a sweet old lady."

*Both Judge Lasselle and Mr. Smith, in commenting upon this, seem to be confused as to the currency. There can be no question, however, that in the account book, where the denominations are represented by ditto marks, the large denomination is "livre" (one-fifth of a "piastre," or Spanish dollar, and about $18\frac{1}{4}$ or $19\frac{1}{4}$ cents of our money), and the smaller is "sol" (modern "sou," being about one-twentieth of the livre and therefore about the same as our cent), both French. For "having raised the company" the charge was therefore \$35—\$100, and the total cost of the "flag" was a little more, \$100—\$105."—*Editor*.

THE LAST OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

ON March 16th and 17th the *Indianapolis News* and other papers contained news of the discovery, on the east bank of the Wabash river three miles south of Lafayette, of an old Indian burial ground. The substance of the report was that "Michael O'Brien, who lives on Sand Ridge, had discovered half an acre of bones, human and animal, deer antlers, shells, etc., beside the Rising Clubhouse."

Before this publication Mr. Alva O. Reser, well known to many of the readers of this magazine, and an authority upon the early history of Indiana, visited the place. He has kindly sent a full account of the most important circumstances in a letter dated Lafayette, May 2d, 1908.

"I was on the ground before any of the bones were carried away, Mr. O'Brien having telephoned to me. I went down on a boat and landed about a quarter of a mile below the mouth of the Wea, on the east side. The overflow of the Wabash had washed away a seeming mound of sand, and there were human bones scattered over a surface about the size of a half-acre, and the bones were about as thick as corn stalks in a corn field. Most of the bones were broken. It seemed that the Wabash had just about washed down to the position of the dead and in one instance we found the legs, and with a stick scratched out all the bones of the upper extremities and head. The body seemed to be with head to the west. There were scattered around a large number of pieces of deer horns, and many burned rocks and shells. This was undoubtedly the site of an Indian village, and it was just across the river from where Ft. Ouiatenon had been. Just below Ouiatenon, on the west side of the Wabash, a ditch was lately dug through a sand ridge, and many bones and Indian relics found. A few years ago at this point a front bone of the arm was found with a silver bracelet on it. There is no doubt that the land just below the mouth of the Wea was a scene of great activity in the early years because of the many relics, bones

and things used by the people found there. Part of an oven, the shape and all preserved, has been found."

This Indian village was in existence from early in the eighteenth century, probably before 1718. According to the best evidences (cf. Dillon, *Indiana*, pp. 262, 401-403, and Dunn, *Indiana*, pp. 49-50) the principal village was two or three miles lower down the river on the same side. As Indian villages were not very substantial, the relatively large population centering around the rapids which marked the head of navigation for the larger boats, may well have shifted from place to place. Certainly at many times there was a large number of Indians living on the site where these bones have been unearthed. Largely on this account the French fort of Ouiatenon was established (about 1720) at this part of the river on the opposite side. The French post probably drew an increased Indian population. We hear of Kickapoos and Musquattimes dwelling on the west side very near the fort. The Weas were chiefly on the east side and their warriors were at times estimated as high as a thousand or twelve hundred. Trade in furs and skins was carried on here on a large scale, being valued between 1764 and 1775 at something like £8,000 annually.

The small French post, as is well known, came into the possession of the English after the French and Indian War. During Pontiac's conspiracy the little garrison was taken captive and held as prisoners by the Indians of the neighborhood, who were inclined to be friendly themselves, but yielded to this extent to the plans of the other Indians. The post apparently was not re-established and the stockade with its dozen or so enclosed dwellings soon decayed. The site is now marked by a monument.

About ten or twelve years later most of the Indians were gathered in a village (Kath-tip-e-ca-nunk) some eighteen miles up the river on the west side. During the troubles with the Indians which arose after the American conquest of the Northwest, these towns were raided by the Americans. Full reports of the raids of Brigadier-Generals Scott and Williamson in 1791, in which comparatively few Indians were killed, but in which their towns, including the one in question, were destroyed, can be read in Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pp. 263-5, 271.

THE BEGINNINGS OF IRVINGTON.

FROM NOTES BY SYLVESTER JOHNSON.

By Request.

IN Sulgrove's History of Indianapolis and Marion County, pp. 620-1, a brief history is given of Irvington, until recently a suburb, now a part of the city of Indianapolis.

One of the original promoters of the town, Mr. Sylvester Johnson, is now living at an advanced age in Irvington, and it may not be superfluous to complete the account there given by facts recited by Mr. Johnson or gleaned from the records.

Much of the land now occupied by Irvington, about four and a half miles east of the center of Indianapolis, was entered from the government by John Hendricks, January 14th, 1826. The central quarter section, lying along the National Road, belonged in 1870 to the Sanduskys, then living in Louisville, Ky., and was used as a dairy farm. In that year, on June 30th, it was bought by Jacob Julian and Sylvester Johnson, both of Centerville, Ind., for \$100 an acre, or a total of \$32,000. The tract is now bounded by Michigan street on the north, Arlington avenue on the east, Ritter avenue on the west and a line from 300 to 400 feet north of the Brookville pike on the south. It was bought with the purpose of laying out a suburban town.

The town was laid out November 7th, 1870, with the name Irvington, given by Mr. Julian, at the suggestion of his daughter, Mary Julian Downey, in honor of Washington Irving. In the meanwhile Mr. Johnson had visited Glendale (near Cincinnati), perhaps the best known suburban town in this part of the country at that time, and had got the idea of winding streets, which has become the best known characteristic of Irvington. The tract was laid out with the plan of having the streets run along the low places, leaving the higher locations for building lots. Julian and Johnson avenues were run along one of the pronounced lines of drainage. A provision, copied by Mr. Johnson from Colorado Springs, Colo., was inserted in the deeds prohibiting the location of any distillery, brewery or other offensive es-

tablishment, and the selling or permitting the sale of intoxicating liquors except for medicinal or industrial purposes on any of the property on penalty of reversion of the ground to the original owner or his heirs. This provision had been attacked in Colorado and had been upheld by the State and the United States courts. Another provision forbade the location of stables, hog-pens, etc., within fifty feet of any street, not an unimportant provision, as the plan of the town left no place for alleys. Two circles, one at the intersection of University avenue and Audubon Road and the other just north of the National Road, were set aside for public purposes, the former under the title Irving Circle and the latter College Circle.

Mr. James Downey, a son-in-law of Mr. Jacob Julian, moved to the proposed town and built there in 1871. Mr. Julian and Mr. Johnson also began to build in 1871 and moved to their new residences in 1872. Dr. Levi Ritter bought the land to the west of the new town and laid out an addition shortly after. The town was soon incorporated. The present railroad station was secured in 1872, and with that the new town was fairly launched.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY CIRCULAR.

[The following is the first circular issued by the Indiana Historical Society, a copy of which is now in the possession of Vincennes University.]

INDIANAPOLIS, ———, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR: The preceding abstract from the Constitution and Proceedings of the "Indiana Historical Society" exhibits an index of its character and will, it is hoped, attract your favorable regard. In pursuance of the general objects of the society and in obedience to its resolutions, the corresponding secretary has the honor to address you, respectfully soliciting such aid, information and patronage as it may be in your power to afford. All communications addressed to the undersigned at Salem, Washington county, Indiana, will be gratefully received, and whenever necessary, promptly acknowledged.

I have the honor to remain, with sentiments of respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN H. FARNHAM.
Corresponding Secretary.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

Published by the Indiana Historical Society

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The finished product of historical work has always proved deeply interesting when presented by such masters as Bancroft, Prescott, Parkman or Rhodes. The work of individual research, also, which lies at the bottom of all historical work of value, possesses a strong attraction for any one who embarks in it, no matter whether at some obscure point or in some highly important and widely known question. Cooperative historical work, however, has not yet received as much recognition in this country as it should; not nearly so much as it has for a long time received in Europe. The reasons are not far to seek. We have not yet realized the importance and the magnitude of the task of preserving our history. There are not yet enough great questions among us whose satisfactory solution has become forever impossible owing to the loss of material bearing upon them; not enough documents lost whose importance, increased by time and the destruction of other evidence, stimulates the effort to preserve other documents and collect other evidence which we still possess. Moreover, the subject matter with which the historian deals is so comprehensive and yet so elusive that cooperation is not always possible. Astronomers have planned with comparative ease cooperative schemes of work in which most of the great observatories and scores of astronomers will probably be engaged for generations. Scientists can deal with animate nature even with more or less fixed and arbitrary divisions. But the record of men's thoughts and doings is so complex and the subject so uncertain that no one can hope to call history an exact science. The channels, accordingly, by which it is produced re-

main as yet for the most part for a few individual workers to dig out.

The need of cooperative work, however, is very apparent. There are questions whose solution, unless they are to be left for chance and prejudice to settle, must be answered by historical research. Many phases of our financial policy, numerous political and constitutional developments, race questions, especially those involved in the relation of the races, are probably susceptible of definite answer, if we only had adequate information, information which it is perfectly possible to ascertain, but which can be gotten in full only by the combined efforts of government bureaus and semi-public societies. In every field of historical work there are records lost, there is work undone, both through lack of general interest and through lack of intelligent cooperation. There are some matters covered over and over and some important matters left untouched.

Recently great progress has been made toward better organization of historical work. Perhaps the strongest influence comes from the American Historical Association. This, through its quarterly, *The American Historical Review*, through its annual meetings, through its numerous and effective committees, has not only done much to introduce better methods of teaching history, but has stimulated the collection of materials and has undertaken more or less systematic cooperative work. As its membership is open to practically all who are interested in history, upon payment of a slight fee, it embraces both well-known historians and amateurs. Its president for the year 1908, Professor George B. Adams, of Yale University, also the chairman of the board of editors of *The American Historical Review*, has long been active in promoting the ends of the association. The association has two considerable prizes at its disposal, the Justin Winsor prize and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, awarded annually through committees for original work in the field of American and European history. Among the more important committees are the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Public Archives Commission (at present at work on the archives of

the Republic of Texas), and committees on bibliography and on publications.

The Carnegie Institute, endowed by Mr. Carnegie to encourage and systematize original work in all fields, has an historical department. Professor J. Franklin Jameson, formerly of the University of Chicago, is at the head of this work. Among the tasks being undertaken under his direction are the collection and publication of matter from European archives bearing upon American history and the preparation of bibliographies of materials in the State library of each State in the Union dealing with the economic development of that State and of the country at large. Some of this work will doubtless prove comparatively barren, a mere heaping of document upon document, of title upon title. But at least it will be done and the path of the future investigator will be made easier.

Interesting developments have taken place in the historical circles of the middle West within the last few months in the direction of the organizations of new agencies. Last year at Cincinnati a two-days' conference was held, in connection with which the Ohio Valley Historical Association was organized. This interstate movement, originating chiefly at Cincinnati, aims to have regular meetings, and by these, together with the influence of its officers and committees, to quicken the public interest in the history of the Ohio Valley. It also proposes to coordinate work done in the different States in matters common to the whole group of States. Several Indiana men attended the first meeting of the society and will probably take part in its subsequent work.

The work of State and local historical societies generally is usually discussed at some session of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. This session serves, somewhat informally, as a clearing house for these organizations, and has its chairman and secretary who may be considered as officers at large in this line of work. At the last session, in Madison, Wis., the secretary, Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, reported great progress, especially in the middle West, in appropriations for historical purposes and in new enterprises

undertaken, but showed that appropriations were often not wisely made, that work such as editing was in some cases being badly done, and that there was much waste.

The semi-official report of the last session of this conference, which can be read in *The American Historical Review* for April, 1908, pp. 438-9, is very suggestive. The principal subject was, "The Cooperation of State Historical Societies in the Gathering of Material in Foreign Archives." After considerable discussion a committee of seven was appointed to consider possible schemes of cooperation, consisting of Mr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History in Mississippi, chairman; W. C. Ford, E. B. Greene, J. F. Jameson, T. M. Owen, B. F. Shambaugh and R. G. Thwaites. This committee will doubtless have a report which will be of interest to Indiana, in as much as much of our early history is involved in documents which belong also to the history of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Louisiana and other States.

The cooperation of local historical societies was similarly discussed on the basis of a paper by Mr. John F. Ayer, secretary of the Bay State Historical League, a union of local historical societies in Massachusetts which has apparently been successful in widening the field of work and increasing the membership of the several organizations composing it.

Another organization also came to life at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Madison—the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The object of this body apparently is to serve as a means of putting into effect plans of cooperation between State historical societies. It is to be made up of men active in these. The executive committee consists of Dr. Thomas M. Owen, president; Professor Clarence W. Alvord, vice president; Clarence S. Paine, secretary-treasurer; Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites and George W. Martin. The Mississippi Valley seems in many ways to afford a more natural and more important grouping of States than the Ohio Valley and though there is doubtless room for the latter for the purpose of holding annual conferences and doing other work, the former is admirably adapted to serve as a basis of cooperation between State societies.

There is danger amid this multiplicity of organizations that the machinery will fairly stifle the workers. There is danger also that magic efficacy may be attributed to societies. It is the individual, and the individual alone, who does the work. He may be helped by associations, but no association ever accomplished anything of itself. It is to be hoped that these recent developments are not simply manifestations of the tendency to organize, but symptoms of the beginning of more active work and more intelligent cooperation.

Meanwhile in Indiana we are making progress. The article by our State Archivist, Dr. Harlow Lindley, in this number, shows that at least one step has been taken in the right direction by the State government. The possibilities of general work are becoming more and more apparent. Many people have been interested in Indiana history. The separate incidents and episodes of that history have been written up unusually well. The early French settlements, the capture of Vincennes by Clark, the political contest for and against slavery, the Indian troubles, and many other chapters are probably as well known as events of similar importance in any State of the Union.

But in many lines of study we have almost everything yet to do. In collections of important original documents and transcripts we are, as has repeatedly been shown, far behind even neighboring States. In the study of some of the most important phases of our history we hardly have the data for beginning work. It is of the utmost importance that broader interest and better cooperation be secured. For instance, the immigration into the State from the time of the American occupation combines perhaps more questions and is of more general interest than any other development. A comprehensive study of it would require the cooperation of State and local historical societies and all other suitable agencies within our borders. With such a combination continued for some time, it would probably be possible to trace all important currents of immigration and point out subsequent tendencies growing out of them. Would it not be possible for the State Historical Society to concentrate the ef-

forts of all historical agencies in the State for a definite period upon such a subject, and while not ignoring other things which individual investigators might in the meantime here and there turn up, devote its publications, its meetings, and its influence chiefly to that one topic? The character of the publications already put out by the State Historical Society challenges comparison with those of any other State. But they have been the result of scattering, individual effort alone, and represent practically the labor of the few men whose names are attached to the various articles. Would not a greater general interest and cooperation be secured by a mass movement upon some one question or set of questions in our history? If a question of present, vital interest, not one of mere antiquarian concern, were chosen, there is no reason why universal cooperation could not be secured. Early internal improvements present a matter of investigation that might well enlist such an effort, especially in view of the present interest in interior waterways and the conservation of natural resources. A practical value of such work would lie in the possibility that future mistakes might be avoided by a clearer understanding of past experience. The study of political parties could nowhere be better prosecuted than in Indiana, which has been for several generations one of their fiercest battlefields. The relation of national politics and local affairs, the influence of national parties upon local government, might very well be made the subject of such a cooperative study as has been suggested.

Our local historical societies apparently need some such stimulus as this. So far as known to this magazine, not more than three or four county historical societies show many signs of activity. Henry, Wayne and Monroe counties especially are simply exceptions to the general lethargy. The trouble seems to be not so much in the inability to do anything or in the lack of means, but in the lack of an interesting and important purpose or of intelligent direction. At times past suggestive meetings at least have been held, and some good publications gotten out by such county organizations as those of Lake and Wabash counties, or such groups as the Northern Indiana Historical Society. A

concerted movement in a common field would probably revive many groups that now resemble extinct volcanoes.

There has been considerable discussion recently of possible co-operation between the State Historical Society and local societies. In our next number we hope to give a short account of the work of these agencies in Wisconsin, which is probably the leading State in the West in this respect. Meanwhile reports from local societies, and contributions of papers produced in them, and discussions of the general subject of these remarks will be welcome.

NOTES.

HENRY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The twenty-second annual meeting of this, the most flourishing county historical society in the State of Indiana, was held Thursday, April 30th, 1908, at the Historical Society Building, No. 614 South Fourteenth street, Newcastle. In the printed program a very interesting session was arranged for, including among other numbers presentation of new material for the historical, biographical and portrait collections, and an "illustration exercise of pioneer methods of preparing and spinning flax and wool on the old-time little wheel, and also on the great wheel," by Spiceland township people, who were familiar with the work.

The annual session of the Caroline Scott Harrison Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was held at the home of Mrs. C. S. Sargent, in Indianapolis, May 14th. The secretary, Mrs. W. C. Buell, reported \$400 now available for a memorial of Mrs. Harrison, for whom the chapter is named, in the Continental Hall at Washington. The registrar, Mrs. W. S. R. Tarkington, reported the present membership as two hundred and fifty, of whom twenty-three are life members.

The Anthony Wayne Memorial Association has been formed at Ft. Wayne with officers as follow: Chairman, Captain H. W.

Dickman; vice-chairman, Captain W. F. Geller; second vice-chairman, Captain Harry Clark; secretary, W. A. Carmer; treasurer, Colonel S. K. Kelker. The object of the association is to petition Congress for an appropriation sufficient to erect on the site of the old fort a suitable memorial building, in which armories may be established for all the military companies in the city, as well as a museum of local history and an assembly-room.

Mr. Jacob P. Dunn, of Indianapolis, has been appointed to special service in collecting information about the languages spoken by the Indian tribes formerly dwelling in this part of the country, under the direction of the National Bureau of Ethnology.

concerted movement in a common field would
many groups that now resemble extinct vol-

There has been considerable discussion re-
operation between the State Historical Socie-

In our next number we hope to give a short
of these agencies in Wisconsin, which is
State in the West in this respect. Meanw-
societies, and contributions of papers |
discussions of the general subject of the
come.

not
longer
best serv-
in Indiana
interest in

NOTES.

HENRY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The twenty-second annual meet-
ing county historical society in the
Thursday, April 30th, 1908, at the
No. 614 South Fourteenth street
program a very interesting sess-
among other numbers presenta-
tional, biographical and portra-
exercise of pioneer methods of
wool on the old-time little wh-
by Spiceland township people

The annual session of the
the Daughters of the American
of Mrs. C. S. Sargent, in In-
Mrs. W. C. Buell, reported
Mrs. Harrison, for whom
mental Hall at Washington
ington, reported the pro-
fifty, of whom twenty-th-

The Anthony Wayne
at Ft. Wayne with off

pioneers have
on documents are
and is a very large
and the topics dis-
arly French explorers,
the treaties with the
the history of South
the civil war, with
facturing establishments;
history are the narrative
soldiers, the biographies and
Notre Dame University.
namely, that not enough
history. Factories are im-
education. The part of the
of the county makes up the
laborers, and properly, too, be-
men, in individuals.
this work with a loving and
sympathy with the Indians, with
experiences, and with the younger
the commercial and social
There is a good index. Two vol-
Publishing Company, Chicago and
DEMARCHUS C. BROWN.

E CITIZEN.

red and sixty-eight pages.
& Co. 1907.]

has been in process of development in the public schools for several years past. A large part of the work in the latter part of the eighth and ninth grades of the period may be given to it in the future. The operation and direction of the superintendent, J. N. Kendall, the work of developing the subject has been carried on largely by Mr. Arthur Kendall, Department of History and Civics in the public schools. "The Community and the Citizen" is a complete results of Mr. Dunn's effort to make the study at once simple and vital, and unless the work is taken, will be instrumental in marking an epoch in our public schools.

It is interesting to note that the present conception of the subject is very different from the idea of civil government which has prevailed in the schools. The latter treated only of the functions of local, State and national government, together with instruction upon such subjects as qualification of voters, the States constitution and party politics. The present book covers all the interests of community life. It is essentially a book of elementary sociology. Among the chapter headings noted are "The Site of a Community," "The Family," "How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Health," "How the Community Aids the Citizen in Transportation and Communication," "How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Knowledge," "How the Citizens of a Community Govern Themselves," "Some Defects in the Self-Government of Our Communities," "How the Expenses of Government Are Met."

Another notable advance that Mr. Dunn has made is that the pupil is interested in a practical way from the very first in his own immediate surroundings, the water supply, the schools, the city parks, etc., and his further study is made to consist largely of finding out how these things are brought about, and how

which it is
 nature more
 live in than
 COLEMAN.

ite, has recently
 John Tipton. He
 idler, senator and
 orydon to the bat-
 the battle itself are
 bad spelling and all.
 ians is clearly pointed

sion which selected the
 as afterward a member of
 d a leader in the develop-

that some were thoughtful
 ming a county Tipton.
 or this work on early Indiana
 culation.)

School System.—A contribution to
 worthy of especial note is a
 A. C. Shortridge on the be-
 dianapolis school system appearing
 der date of March 14, 21 and 28, and
 fessor Shortridge, now superannuated
 ve school work, may fairly be regarded
 n features that make the Indianapolis
 he best in the country. He became super-
 e schools of the city in 1863, and served in
 en years, during which the high school, the
 Teachers' Training School and education for
 all developed as parts of a growing system.
 e when public sentiment was not educated as
 it required strenuous and persistent effort to

they may be improved. It is a trite maxim of teaching that instruction should proceed from the known to the unknown, from the immediate to the remote, but nowhere else does the reviewer find this point of view really carried out in civics. To begin with local government, proceed then to national government, as many text-books do, is not of itself sufficient, for the intricacies of city government and details of its organization are actually as remote from the average citizen, alas, as are the government at Washington. One of the means Mr. Dunn's development of his method is local history. To

"A feature of the book is the use made of local history. It is believed that a contribution is made toward the solution of the problem of how to employ local history effectively. Few local communities have a history that can be woven into the stream of national history in an intimate way. It is difficult to make use of local developments in the teaching of the history of the United States. Still, every community has a history that may be made instructive."

As can be readily seen, there are difficulties in the use of the new civics. It can not be learned from a single book. A separate text can scarcely be prepared for every town. And so the Dunn's "Community Civics" gives an order of developing the subject, with suggestions and illustrations, and the teacher is left to work out the subject for their own community. This requires energy and intelligence on the part of the pupils. This requires energy and intelligence on the part of the teacher. The old method of teaching civics does not require some items but the new work should prove interesting and should prove the most valuable work in our city schools.

The book is copiously illustrated with photographs which bring out most excellent points. Pictures of neat and of slovenly streets, of river banks used for recreation, with pictures of river banks made into parks tell a very impressive story. It can easily be by photographs made

Duncan, March

[Indiana Uni-
the date of the
within its enclosure.
born in 1761 and
his name was Brew-
ere of the landed Vir-
their father was at the
al Greene's army in the
great Presbyterian hegira
the manufacture of woolen
om was always filled with
was near enough, they helped
They all died in this county,
died in Kentucky. From these
Dunns, Alexanders, Sewards and

as the widow of Samuel Irvin, a
of the War of 1812, who died and
he story is told that while Irvin was
ted by a Mr. Campbell, who asked her
as refused for her soldier lover. After
ame West, the Campbells settling in the
ngton, Ky., probably in Bourbon county,
Richmond, Madison county. Some of the
this county and were visited by this rela-
n met his old Virginia sweetheart. But it is
n part of the Brewster family this paper deals.

is also the dedication of the burying-ground by George G. Dunn. It
seward, about 1856.

promote growth. Mr. Shortridge, more than any other man was instrumental in securing much that is established to-day and he is the only man now living that can tell the details much of the educational history of that period. Some things that have remained unrecorded or been recorded erroneously he now sets forth authoritatively. In preparing his articles for the press Mr. Shortridge has been seriously handicapped, is blind and virtually without assistance. This part of his life has been long preparing, and that he has at last got it into print is a matter for congratulation. Professor Shortridge, now eighty-five years old, is held in honored remembrance in Indianapolis, and "Shortridge High School," of that city, is a monument to him that will carry his name into the future.

Indian History.—Jacob P. Dunn, who is the recognized authority on the Indians of Indiana, has recently published in the *Indianapolis News*, several articles on the aborigines. The 14th of December last appeared "Little Turtle, of the December 21, "Little Turtle's Rout by Wayne;" "Indian Witches Burned to Death" (by the Proprietors of Delaware towns); March 21, "The Defense of Fort Mifflin;" April 17, "The Removal of the Potawottomis from Indiana;" April 25, "When Fall Creek Ran with blood—famous hangings at Pendleton for Indian murder;" May 30, "Logan the Indian." Most of these themes have been treated by the casual newspaper writer, and developed some of the unused.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

SEPTEMBER, 1904

AUSTIN BEWAS.

The Monroe County Historical Society by H. A. ...

but
it a
p of
puta-
s as a
dames
om ing-
learned
fluence
it render
h kin smen
to his wife
y a vacant
ail occupied
uated con-
buted on the
ely of best cor-
of built a log
sed u supplying
in until a new
nd is 1825. This
still stand-

Jane Irvin was the wife of Austin Seward. They were good people. In early times they came from settled in Surry county, Virginia, but subsequently Austin moved to Middlesex county on the Rappahannock, in the heart of the landed aristocracy of Episcopalians and patriots. Austin Seward and his mother Mary Daniel. It is thought of the celebrated Daniel family of that State. Mary Daniel is a distinguished member. His grandfather Austin, for whom he was named, and his father Mason, a member of the distinguished Maryland family. His first child, a daughter, was named Mary. His second daughter, Almira, for his grandfather John, for his father, and his son who died for his grandfather.

John Seward, senior, had two children, a son November 22, 1799, and a sister Almira, three years his junior. When they were children their father remarried, and the stepmother mistreated them. The story that "only exists in the story book" is expressed it. On account of her cruelty she was driven when the stepmother was away and her mother's sister, carried Almira away with her aunt and did not join her brother until after the Civil war, when she came to Indiana and died of her death in 1867. It is a tradition that Austin and his sister, that the stepmother's extent of failing to give them enough to live on an old colored "mammy" from her mother and the oysters gathered by the Rappahannock, cooked and fed them. She always insisted these were the best. When Austin was about ten years old he went to a farm near Richmond, Ky. He was there for three years. The date of his death is not known. He was a man of very considerable energy and power of living, as remembered by those who came, but nothing whatever

t back on
 ly day and
 1853.
 e of the work
 . In order to
 the country, the
 ington is an in-
 river could carry
 seasons of the year,
 boats plying any of
 were no canals acces-
 ctured products could
 that during almost six
 ty and often not at all.
 He was a blacksmith, a
 of all, an edge-tool maker.
 and axes were required. A
 It is said that some one told
 of his cynicisms, that it took
 to develop his ax. It took cen-
 ow. He could make them both.
 rifle gun. He made them. He
 he barrel from bar iron; made the
 te the double triggers, cut a segment
 front sight, rounded out and set the
 t moulds, stocked it with curly sugar
 nds, and no gun could beat his for looks
 said, a catalogue of the articles of his
 ts of his shop, would be a catalogue of
 diana in which iron or steel entered. He
 braces, bits, bells, scythes, files, guns,
 s, shears—sheep shears being a specialty—
 ts, horseshoes, horseshoe nails; he shod horses,
 and, after his foundry was established, made
 nes, stoves, skillets, sugar kettles, pots and cane
 he made and mounted a brass cannon. There are
 at which he excelled. No better axes were ever
 er" was the old Spanish twenty-five cent piece worn smooth by much use.

ing, although with an added second story; one room was a gunsmith shop; one was used for storing material and for operating the lathe; one for grindstone and emery wheels and the fourth was the blacksmith shop with three forges. It is true this was the third brick house erected in Bloomington, probably only by the old brick near Karsell's mill and the Maxwell, towards the Lucas House, burned some twenty years ago, situated just north of the alley on the west side of College avenue between Sixth and Seventh streets. The brick was made and burned in Walnut street in front of Mrs. W. O. Fee's residence. The wood cut on the neighboring lots supplying the fuel. There was a wooden structure built on the east side in which was a horse-power for operating the lathe, grindstones and emery wheels that were used for polishing axes, scythes and other implements as required. As business kept on increasing demands were made for more room, greater and larger facilities and these an honest effort was always made to supply. In 1842 or 1843, Mr. Seward had only made forged articles such as were first heated and then formed on the anvil, but in a few years the country the plow proposition was always up. About that time a new plow called the "Peacock," from the name of the inventor, came on the market. I remember them very well. It had a share, wrought bar and cast mould board. In that day it was a plow, somewhat after the fashion of the Oliver of the present day. The Virginia furnace had been started on the west side of the county and it was hoped iron would be secured there to make and supply the demand for the Peacock plow. To that end Mr. Seward installed a foundry for the manufacture of all kinds of castings, the blast being supplied by horse-power. The use of this power was continued until 1854, when it was superseded by steam, which was used from that time on. The shop was enlarged, a foundry built, more forges installed and the capacity increased. In the early days but little money was paid for labor or for the products of the field or shop. A system of exchange was established. The river—Louisville—was the market, and in order to dispose of the products received and exchanged for the products of the shop, he had a four-horse wagon made named "The Great Western," which made regular trips to the river.

the first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This discovery led to a great influx of people to California, and the state became a free state in 1850. The second discovery was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Colorado, and the state became a free state in 1876. The third discovery was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Nevada, and the state became a free state in 1864. The fourth discovery was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Idaho, and the state became a free state in 1890. The fifth discovery was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1865. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Montana, and the state became a free state in 1889. The sixth discovery was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Wyoming, and the state became a free state in 1890. The seventh discovery was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1871. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Utah, and the state became a free state in 1896. The eighth discovery was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1876. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Arizona, and the state became a free state in 1909. The ninth discovery was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1878. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New Mexico, and the state became a free state in 1906. The tenth discovery was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1880. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Texas, and the state became a free state in 1845. The eleventh discovery was the discovery of gold in Louisiana in 1882. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Louisiana, and the state became a free state in 1803. The twelfth discovery was the discovery of gold in Mississippi in 1884. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Mississippi, and the state became a free state in 1817. The thirteenth discovery was the discovery of gold in Alabama in 1886. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Alabama, and the state became a free state in 1819. The fourteenth discovery was the discovery of gold in Georgia in 1888. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Georgia, and the state became a free state in 1788. The fifteenth discovery was the discovery of gold in Florida in 1890. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Florida, and the state became a free state in 1822. The sixteenth discovery was the discovery of gold in South Carolina in 1892. This discovery led to a great influx of people to South Carolina, and the state became a free state in 1776. The seventeenth discovery was the discovery of gold in North Carolina in 1894. This discovery led to a great influx of people to North Carolina, and the state became a free state in 1776. The eighteenth discovery was the discovery of gold in Virginia in 1896. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Virginia, and the state became a free state in 1776. The nineteenth discovery was the discovery of gold in West Virginia in 1898. This discovery led to a great influx of people to West Virginia, and the state became a free state in 1863. The twentieth discovery was the discovery of gold in Maryland in 1900. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Maryland, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-first discovery was the discovery of gold in Delaware in 1902. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Delaware, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-second discovery was the discovery of gold in Pennsylvania in 1904. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Pennsylvania, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-third discovery was the discovery of gold in New Jersey in 1906. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New Jersey, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-fourth discovery was the discovery of gold in New York in 1908. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New York, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-fifth discovery was the discovery of gold in Connecticut in 1910. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Connecticut, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-sixth discovery was the discovery of gold in Rhode Island in 1912. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Rhode Island, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-seventh discovery was the discovery of gold in Massachusetts in 1914. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Massachusetts, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-eighth discovery was the discovery of gold in Vermont in 1916. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Vermont, and the state became a free state in 1776. The twenty-ninth discovery was the discovery of gold in New Hampshire in 1918. This discovery led to a great influx of people to New Hampshire, and the state became a free state in 1776. The thirtieth discovery was the discovery of gold in Maine in 1920. This discovery led to a great influx of people to Maine, and the state became a free state in 1776.

made
from
his old
ax bar
30 cen
His
W. B.
horse
he up
them
knew
father
into
get a
that
their
trave
on,"
The
propo
so he
had
would
name
prese
skill
in m
grea
Char
"sto
a w
stoc
out
to
dre
"T
in
Se

... a plow any place—
... to help the
... domestic
... a coloma
... the community
... the closest
... when the
... streets—
... family residence
... case in town
... ter house
... at house they
... kept open
... business was
... apprentices
... well as nearly
... stable, sat
... in a distant
... over a
... of pleasure
... In "setting
... or such as
... Their
... the country
... fact, was a
... as their
... of the early
... the most
... and made
... the household
... cooking,
... wholly on
... enough to
... in a new
... a large
... women who
... Mrs. Seward
... maintained a sunny and happy

Austin Seward was born in the center of the Virginia aristocracy holding to the Episcopal church, and was baptized in that faith. When he emigrated to Kentucky he settled among Scotch Presbyterians; became a member and married into a family of Presbyterians; became a member and married into a family of Presbyterians; became a member and married into a family of Presbyterians.

school, Austin Seward of the "new school" church was a ruling elder. He was a regular attendant on all the ministrations of the church, led in prayer at the prayer-meetings and in the absence of the regular minister conducted the services. For years he took and read *The New York Observer* and *Christian Herald*, both Presbyterian papers, and had on his library table Scott's Commentaries, Barnes's Notes (this he originally took as a serial), besides many other religious works. The spare bedroom in his house was especially set apart to the priesthood, rather the traveling was by preachers, and by the family was known as the "apostles' room." It took an overflow to profane that room to sacrilegious uses of by permitting it to be occupied by any other than a member of the cloth. Until the day of his death he remained steadfast in the faith once delivered to the saints. The Swards and the Brewsters were slave-owners in Virginia, although both families were opposed to the institution. Austin Seward was a Henry Clay Whig, and one of the many who went

money could buy a plow any place—the man with-
It was his Christian duty to help the helpless.

Of Austin Seward's domestic life much could be
wife was the daughter of a colonial dame. She ha
tives among the best of the community with whom
husband were on terms of the closest intimacy.
the log cabin until 1828 when the old brick at the s
ner of Seventh and Walnut streets—now the Batm
built and occupied as the family residence. At the
the most consequential house in town. It was 1
stories, and, what no other house aspired to o
enjoy, it had a hall. In that house they lived unti
death in 1865. They always kept open house. No
his door hungry. His business was large. He
neymen and always had apprentices. The latte
his house their home, as well as nearly all the
neymen. They all ate at his table, sat at his fire
his beds. Of the patrons from a distance, nearl
him if their business kept them over night, wh
or friends, who called on business or pleasure a
noon, stayed and took dinner. In "setting the t
always two extra plates laid for such as "just
without money and without price. Their table
supplied from the products of the country, e
products of the shop. Each, in fact, was a lega
ly taken in exchange for the other.

Their condition in life was as their neigl
dured the hardships and privations of the e
household appointments were of the most prin
ing apparel was largely home spun and mac
by women who came to sew. The househo
washing, ironing and sewing fell wholly on
of the household as were large enough to t
with such help as could be procured in a ne
labors—the labor of caring for a large house
for and rearing a family of nine children wh
and two who died in infancy—made Mrs. Sew
and broken, although she always maintained

HENRY SEWARD

and faithfully to the cause of the oppressed. She was well known for her authority on matters of the most handsome character.

He was the center of the Episcopal church, and was well known for his emigration to Kentucky. He was married into a family of that faith, lived and died in it, and was a devotedly religious. In his own home he had a family altar at which he had family prayers, and in this cabin conducted his religious services. He was superintendent of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

He was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society, and was a member of the Kentucky Emigration Society.

the forge. When he kept it, he forgot it.

es, brow h, slender get about extensive

lar and fact all his book that on

351, one Wright, satisfactory

son, W. H. says ago, he i-d.

associates community. He vid H. Max-

Dr. Andrew State with Governor

quence of his cial way and his table.

in 1821 to the most friend- any other labor cars—there were ving, William J. der, who worked old me about Mr. Prentice and as a

The boys who tended his team too fast—in short, somebody was frustrated with him for making such long as he had corn, and any one coming to him. The boys were intrusted so that any disturbance would night verified their statement. A hole door for the benefit of the cats. Mr. of a trap and fastened it inside, locked hole for the cats. The next morning he loosed him, filled his basket with corn, told wanted any more to come to him and get all or two of the boys knew all about it, but he strict secrecy and never told it himself. At ammy" Seward found some one—a respectable She filled his basket and to assist him in conceal- covered it with cobs and was terribly outraged the boys who had been watching and knew of the

first moved here he was universally called Seward, the usual way, but for some unknown reason, the changed to Seward, with the e pronounced as long e ing the accent. An old paper in the hands of this society two advertised uncalled-for letters addressed to him under netic spelling, A. C. Ward. It was no uncommon thing to s name spelled in this way.

of the family have died but two—Williamson Brewster, honored member of our society and citizen of the State, and bert D., who after fifty years' work at the anvil, with the respect and confidence of everybody, is now enjoying the rest he so well deserves and has so well earned. Austin Seward himself died October 27, 1872, and is buried in the Dunn burying-ground beside his wife and her sisters.

Braynard R. Hall, a Presbyterian preacher of Philadelphia, a graduate of Princeton, opened the State Seminary—the forerunner of the State University—in 1824, and remained until 1831. In 1843 he published a work in two volumes, entitled "The New

journeyman. His statement is substantial. Seward's apprentices served him four weeks, as was the custom in those days; through as skilled workmen and able. They did not stay in and about the doing the drudgery of the shop, the he taught all that pertained to the trade with his family, while Mrs. Seward early supplied with clothing, that it that their physical wants were satisfied by her own children. The hours of ten hours a day was recognized—they were always given the benefit of Seward was idolized and revered while Mrs. Seward was always affectionately called "Mammy."

"Austin Seward was the first. He made money—it was no trouble. He never collected, or if collected in language. Mr. Seward was stock to the railroad, now the all of it was lost. Soon after was raised to save that and the others. That, too, was a total loss. That was retained. When on the into the old and the new era. \$500 toward buying a new supplied by the A. M. E. Church. "Mammy" Seward after the went through were when made the donations to the. Before the advent of the back. All kinds of people would go, one of the the horse, examine it to put them on—put it. If a man wanted a

for the non de work, and, while this locality at ward of language ly caricatures the preacher, but on left in a huff and the people. Every David H. Maxwell ned. He gave all as manus and Mr. Seward devoted a whole chapter as given a chapter. His Mr. Seward's life and sing paragraph: "He was Smith, by nature a gentle- are need be said, he was a

RICHMOND.

N PETITION.

best, and among the best, discussions
his speech there, and the presentation
his own slaves. A careful reading will
in matters of fact, though taking opposite
propriety of the conduct of the leading

originally printed in the *Indianapolis News*,
second was printed at the instance of Judge
County Tribune, *Spiceland* and *Newcastle*,
[EDITOR.]

Charles W. Osborn's Article.

of 1842, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, an aspi-
presidency, in the course of an electioneering
Richmond, Ind., and on October 1 spoke to a large
people.

the platform and in the presence of the audience,
Mendenhall presented to Clay a petition asking him to
slaves. Clay, in his answer, told Mendenhall to go
mind his own business. Mendenhall's action in this
been severely censured. He has been regarded as a
gadfly, seeking an opportunity to torment the great states-
in the presence of his political friends. Clay's speech at
Richmond has been regarded as a political blunder that cost him
loss of the presidency in 1844. Most of those who have
written upon the subject seem to be ignorant of some of the facts
connected with the case.

Judge Bundy, of Newcastle, in an article in the *Indianapolis Journal* some two years ago, says the speech made the founda-
tion for a third party of political abolitionists, who nominated
James G. Birney, who received votes enough in New York alone
to defeat Clay. The Liberty party existed before Clay's speech
at Richmond, and Birney received 7,000 votes for President in
1840. The party was organized in Indiana in February, 1841,
and delegates appointed to attend the convention that nominated

Purchase, or Seven Years in the Far West" under the *non plume* of Robert Carleton. It is a very readable book, and, with largely overdrawn, gives a fair representation of this locality at that time. It is true, he puts impossible and unheard of language into the mouths of his characters and generally caricatures people. He was a scholarly man, an eloquent preacher, but on account of trouble with Dr. Andrew Wylie, left in a hurry and never was again reconciled to the country or the people. Only a few, except members of his own family, Dr. David H. McCall and Mr. Seward were ridiculed and lampooned. He gave assumed names. Dr. Maxwell was Dr. Sylvanus and Mr. Seward was Vulcanus Allheart. To the latter is devoted a whole chapter of his book—the only man to whom was given a character so enthusiastic and generous estimate of Mr. Seward's character can be summed up in his closing paragraph: "by birth a Virginian, by trade a blacksmith, by nature a brave man, and by grace a Christian; if more need be said, he is a genius."

his
ould
ask
that
Master
erty is
charge,
of free-
good to
er worthy

anticipate his
ructed to re-

Dayton, O.,
nt in 1844,
Saturday,
bly, and
of presenta-
Advocate and
eptember 24,
nent that it
uch a petition
says:
he committee
adium plainly
to discourage
be as bad as

Birney in 1844. It would be difficult to determine the cause or causes that increased the abolition vote from 7,000 in 1840 to over 62,000 in 1844. This vote was drawn more largely from the Whigs than from the Democrats, because the former were more anti-slavery than the latter. Clay was a slave-holder, and in "Alabama" letter favored the slave-holding measure of the annexation of Texas under certain conditions. These two things did more, doubtless, to alienate from him the anti-slavery Whigs than his speech at Richmond.

Addison C. Harris, late minister to Austria, in an article published in the *American Friend*, of November 6, 1896, under the title of "A Quaker Episode," attributes the petition to the so-called anti-slavery Quakers, mostly living at Newport of Richmond, who advocated the doctrine of immediate conditional emancipation, and who refused to be switched from this main track of abolitionism by the unjust and imprudent colonization dodge. That these Quakers on learning that they were to speak in Richmond on Saturday before the opening of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, prepared a petition, generously signed, placed it in the hands of one of their number, Mendenhall, to be presented privately to Clay on Friday previous to the speaking, but failing to gain his permission, presented it publicly upon the platform the next day. There is much error in this account. The petition originated with the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, an organization without denominational bias but numbering perhaps more Friends than any other one denomination. An annual meeting of the society was held at Newport (now Fountain City) from September 5, 1842, and continuing four days. The meeting was too large for the Friends' meeting-house, and they resorted to a grove fitted up for the occasion. On the first day of the convention it was "On motion resolved that a committee be appointed to prepare a petition to be presented to Clay, of Kentucky, when he shall arrive at Richmond, to visit to this State as contemplated the present season, to see him to liberate his slaves, and that H. H. Way, Peter Crocker and Israel French constitute a committee to present it."

Henry Clay

"Resolved, That Matthew
Casterline constitute
the afternoon session
the committee to prepare
which was adopted, and
Henry Clay:
the undersigned citizens
of rights contained in the
view of that justice
view of all those
patriot, the philanthropist
to "unloose the heavy burden
under your control who call
you would give liberty to whom
justice to those
by you of the
that would result in

a
ts
nd
the
the
their
at his
a car-
ion to
lunteer

a hoot-
ular man,
manhood,
stand with
ve received
he platform
sake to not
shall stepped
en he saw they
on the floor, a

of his discourse.
substance of his
points: He said
the dignity of an
om inferiors to su-
The petition should
vere Democrats and
to create influence
through my country
But I am aware that
nds of property. We
es to us as property is
hich you speak was not

intended by those who formed that document as you interpret it. All thirteen of the States that framed that declaration held slaves at that very time. Yours is a new interpretation.

"Slavery is a great evil; we are in the midst of it; fastened upon us by Great Britain. There is not a man who deprecates slavery more than I do. But the slave must be prepared for freedom before he can receive that great boon. He must have moral cultivation. The Society of Friends takes the right stand in regard to this question. Yours are the revolutionary principles of Thomas Dorr, of Rhode Island, and should the principles of your petition be granted, extermination and blood would be the result. States have rights that you can no more interfere with than you can with nations. I own fifty slaves, and I treat them well; ask my Charles here; he goes as well clad and, I believe, is as honest a man as Mr. Mendenhall.' My slaves are worth \$15,000, and if the abolitionists will raise and give them the same amount, I will liberate them. You have put back emancipation fifty years. Go home, Mr. Mendenhall and mind your own business."

Thus it will be seen that Hiram Mendenhall acted only as the agent of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was a member; that he did not thrust himself upon Henry Clay, but consulted him as to when the interview should take place and whether it should be public or private. The whole affair was simply one of those early moral engagements in the irrepressible conflict of freedom with slavery, which terminated with the close of the War of the Rebellion.

The vision of the seer was imperfect when it showed him that the zeal of the abolitionist had put back the emancipation of the slave fifty years; for not one-half of that time elapsed until American slavery was a thing of the past. But slavery, the cause of the rebellion, was buried at a fearful cost of blood and treasure. To-day we look upon the two principal actors on that Richmond stage in the light of intervening events, through the vista of fifty-nine years and across seven hundred battle-grounds of the Civil War, and over the graves of 500,000 soldiers of the blue and the gray, and the memory of the apologizers for slavery

grows dim, while the memory of the advocates of freedom grows brighter as the years go by.

“Then to side with Truth is noble, when we share her wretched
crust
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be
just.”

Such nobility belonged to Hiram Mendenhall and his abolition compeers in the early forties, and to-day we regard them as having been at home and attending to the business that belonged to them as American citizens and patriots while advocating the freedom of the slave.

CHARLES W. OSBORN.

Economy, Ind.

Account by Charles and William Coffin.

[Charles F. Coffin, of Chicago, and his brother William, of Pasadena, Cal., I think, are the only persons living who can write a correct history of Clay's visit to Richmond, and the yearly meeting, October, 1842—sixty-five years ago. Charles drove the carriage that conveyed him to the meeting and listened to his speech. He wrote a history and sent it to me and I advised him to have it published in your paper and he wrote me his consent to my request.

M. L. BUNDY.]

In October, 1842, Henry Clay passed through Richmond, Ind., on what was probably an electioneering tour for the presidency, though not ostensibly so. He had been prominent before the public as a candidate for President, and had heretofore been unsuccessful. The Yearly Meeting of Friends in Indiana was being held at this time, and his friends evidently arranged for his arrival there during the yearly meeting—as in those days the meetings were very large, and it was thought he would have a good opportunity to present himself before them. He arrived in Richmond on the 1st of October, 1842, and stopped at what was then known as the “Nixon Hotel,” a small, but very neat hotel, afterward known as the “Huntington.” There were, as guests, at the hotel, a number of Friends, amongst others, three bridal couples—James D. Ladd, Brooks Johnson and Samuel R. Lippincott. Rhoda M. Johnson, then an unmarried young lady, who afterward became the wife of Charles F. Coffin, accompanied her brother, Brooks Johnson.

Of course the arrival of so distinguished a man as Henry Clay attracted the attention of every one. The brides were introduced to him, and he promptly kissed each one of them. Miss Johnson remarked that she was glad she was not a bride on this occasion, as she did not fancy the looks of Henry Clay. On Saturday afternoon he spoke upon a platform which had been erected on some vacant lots within a block of the hotel. In addition to the large number of Friends attending the yearly meeting, the whole country for miles around turned out to hear this distinguished orator. It was estimated roughly that there were ten thousand persons in sound of his voice. Of course this number was guessed at, but there was certainly a very large number.

The anti-slavery agitation had become very strong by this time, and a large body of abolitionists resided at Newport, ten miles north of Richmond. They met and prepared an address to Henry Clay, asking him to liberate his slaves, and appointed a deputation to present it to him. This deputation was headed by Hiram Mendenhall, who became spokesman of the deputation. They made their way to the platform, and handed the petition to James Rariden, the Congressman from that district, and a very warm friend of Henry Clay's. At Henry Clay's request, he read the petition to him. It excited a great commotion in the audience, who felt it was an uncalled for intrusion at this time, and they might have offered violence to the parties presenting it, but Henry Clay arose and earnestly requested them, on his account, not to do so, but to allow the parties full liberty. He then arose and replied to the address, the committee presenting it being seated upon the platform, and told them that he was opposed to slavery himself; that all the slaves he had, he had inherited from his father—that he had never bought nor sold one—that many of them were old and infirm, and would be unable to provide for themselves if turned loose.

He turned to his body servant, whom he called "Charles" (a colored man), and said to the company: "Here is Charles—he is in a free State, and entirely at liberty to leave me if he desires to do so, and if you who present this petition will prepare a place for my slaves at home where they can be provided for, and enabled to make their living, I will gladly release them all; but

as it is, it would be an act of cruelty which I could not perform; and besides, I have grown up amongst them, and have a degree of attachment to them, which would prevent me from turning them out without the means of subsistence." He then turned to the deputation and poured out a volley of eloquence rarely heard, suggesting to them that they were interfering with something with which they had nothing to do. Standing immediately in front of Mendenhall, and bending almost over him, he closed with a peroration like this: "Go home, Mr. Mendenhall, and attend to your own business, and I will endeavor to see after mine." This scathing rebuke of course touched deeply those to whom it was administered, and they did go home, and did all they could to prevent his election for President. Whether they would have pursued the same course otherwise or not, it is uncertain, but it is supposed to have had much to do in defeating him for President.

On the next day, Sabbath morning, the writer's younger brother, William H. Coffin, stood very near the platform and heard all that was said, the writer himself being a little farther off, but yet heard enough to understand most that was said. Henry Clay desired to attend the large meeting for the public on this Sabbath, and Elijah Coffin, father of the writer, was clerk of the yearly meeting, and consulted with the few leading Friends as to what they should do in the matter. It was concluded to take him to the meeting and place him on one of the raised seats near where the ministers who were to address the meeting sat. An immense crowd came to the meeting, and the writer drove the carriage for his father, who called for Henry Clay, and took him to the meeting house. It was with great difficulty that we could get through the crowd, and it was necessary to drive very slowly, so as to allow people to open a passage way and let the carriage through. On arrival at the meeting house, a tall Friend, named Pleasant Winston, took hold of one of Henry Clay's arms and my father of the other, and then escorted him to the place in the meeting house prepared for him.

He was sufficiently elevated there to be seen by the whole company, and of course was an object of great attraction. Two ministers delivered addresses: one, John Meader, of Providence,

R. I., and the other, Stephen Grellett, of Burlington, N. J. The latter, a Frenchman of distinguished family, who had left France on account of revolutionary proceedings, and after he came to the United States, being thrown with Friends, became a member of the society and ultimately a preacher of the gospel, who traveled over the United States and Europe, and having belonged to a prominent family, was well educated and in every respect a most accomplished gentleman. This enabled him to reach the nobility—in some instances the Kings, and especially the Czar of Russia. His addresses in English were much broken and rather difficult to understand, but were able and eloquent. Henry Clay listened to these speakers with intense interest, turning almost around in his seat in order to see them distinctly, as he was nearly under them. After the close of the meeting the same difficulty occurred in getting him away that had occurred on his arrival, and I had to drive with very great care, and almost run against people in order to get them out of the way, as their curiosity led them to crowd around the carriage in order to get a view of Henry Clay. He left Richmond the next day, and proceeded on his journey westward.

This event, unimportant as it may seem, attracted very great attention throughout the country, and was much commented upon. Many narratives of it have appeared, scarcely any one of which was wholly correct, but the position which the writer and his brother occupied, enable them to give the full facts in regard to the matter, as it occurred at the time.

November 14, 1907.

CHARLES F. COFFIN. .

I have carefully read your manuscript, and find it well descriptive of the occasion and subject as I saw it. Henry Clay's speech to Mr. Mendenhall and his compeers was not long, but long enough to well answer the so-called petition, in his lawyer-like, able and senatorial manner. I could almost reproduce it, not in exact words, perhaps, but in sense and point and much of the language used, as I was intensely interested. I was then at heart and conviction, anti-slavery to the bottom, and would have helped in the underground movement, or in any other way to have done any good, practically, in its overthrow.

Henry Clay had made a strong and able speech from a Whig standpoint to that great crowd, and this affair was injected to do all possible to hurt him because he was a slave-holder. Under the circumstances the scathing he gave them was merited, although distorted by them and made to appear in altogether a different light, as was also the affair next day of his attendance at the yearly meeting. So, we have so many partly untrue and distorted accounts of it, yours will be the most truthful, plain, unvarnished and impartial account of the whole affair I have ever yet seen written.

Charles Osborn some years ago wrote a statement of it from his standpoint, which was probably the fairest and most truthful narrative from that side, but he evidently was not present, and gained his information from biased sources.

After James Rariden had received and read the petition publicly from the platform to Henry Clay, he arose and answered somewhat as follows:—(Condensed) "That this petition to him at this time and place was out of order; that petitions were from inferiors to superiors; that he was now an American citizen traveling through Indiana to meet and see his friends, and in no wise a superior, but on an equality with them; that if they had had a real desire to see and talk with him about the slaves at his home, they should have come to Ashland where he would have guaranteed safety and true hospitality; and used them like gentlemen; that he was opposed to slavery, and believed it to be a great evil, but that it was fastened on the colonies by the British government at an early period of our colonial history, and was now so interwoven into the fabric of our social condition and life, especially in the Southern States, that it would be impossible to uproot it at once without destroying our government; that he had never bought or sold a slave, but had about fifty left him by will from his father's estate; that half of them were along in years, some much older than he was, and the rest mostly their children, who had grown up on the plantation; that they had been the companions of his childhood and youth, and he was much attached to them, and felt morally bound to support them in their old age. Now, gentlemen, I will make you an offer, seeing you have come to me with this affair in this public

manner; if you will buy a suitable tract of land in northern Indiana, or Ohio (which could have been purchased very reasonably), to settle these old and infirm people on, and where they can be comfortably cared for, I will agree to turn them over to you. As to Charles, my body servant, I have brought him into a free State, and by the law, he is free; and if he wants to go with you, he is at perfect liberty to do so." (Charles grinned and showed no disposition to leap into the arms of Mr. Mendenhall and his compeers.)

Mr. Mendenhall and his company, by this time grown smaller, some having vanished in the great crowd, showed no disposition to accept his offer, and then came his eloquent and scathing peroration over Mr. Mendenhall's head, ending with the words, "Go home, Mr. Mendenhall—do good in your own neighborhood, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, relieve the necessities of the poor, the sick, the fatherless, and the widow; attend to these duties, and I will endeavor to attend to mine." Then came a mighty and prolonged roar, or cheer, you might call it, from the excited ten thousand in which I joined, doing my best, and Mr. Mendenhall went into a hole, and pulled the hole in, and disappeared. As you well say, they did go home, and did attend to their own duties as exhorted, for they were really that kind of philanthropic men; and also saw to it that no votes they could influence in after time were cast for Henry Clay, the great Slave-Holder, whom Indiana yearly meeting set at its head, by the clerk, as they afterward misrepresented and made appear.

It always, in all the statements of this Henry Clay affair I have seen, made him speak too harshly on the "Go home" part of it. It did not strike me that way at the time, as you can guess by the full text of his speech as I have written in that part of it, but was scathing enough as it really was.

I want to say further, your account of the attendance of the yearly meeting the next day, was true in every respect as I saw it, and has never before been correctly written.

WILLIAM H. COFFIN.

PIONEER TRANSPORTATION ON THE OHIO RIVER.

BY HON. SAMUEL T. COVINGTON, OF RISING SUN.

From the Rising Sun Local, April 27, 1877.

IN the early times of Rising Sun, steamboat accommodations or facilities were not first class. Boats were as angels' visits are said to be, "few and far between." The first passenger to or from Rising Sun on a steamboat was Mr. John James, the proprietor of the town. In 1815 the steamboat "Independence," on a voyage from New Orleans to Cincinnati, at the end of four months from the time of starting, arrived at Rising Sun. With the green wood which they were compelled to cut as they needed fuel, she could not make steam enough to stem the current opposite the town, and they bought fence rails of Mr. James, he to take his pay in a passage to Cincinnati. Mr. James remained with the boat until she arrived at North Bend, at which point, becoming tired of the tardiness, he left and walked ahead, arriving at Cincinnati twelve hours ahead of the Independence. That was a specimen of early steamboating.

But the pioneers of this vicinity did not depend on steamboats to take their produce to Cincinnati, where they purchased their supplies. They preferred a more reliable and rapid mode of transportation. The plain where the town now stands, as well as the surrounding country, abounded in majestic poplars, from which were made canoes and pirogues, many of which were capable of carrying five or more tons of cargo, and it was by means of these vessels that the commerce, between Rising Sun and Cincinnati especially, was transported. With one man at the bow and another at the stern, wielding the setting poles with great dexterity in pushing the canoe forward, it was surprising to see with what speed it was driven against the current. Two men would thus drive a well-laden canoe about as fast as an active man could walk, and thus the voyage to Cincinnati could be made in a little over a day's time. The writer of this has heard his grandfather, Colonel Samuel Fulton, say that on more than

one occasion he has left Rising Sun at an early hour in the morning with some members of his family who proposed to visit some friends at his former home in Newport, Ky., as passengers, and some marketing, and land at Newport before sundown. On such occasions I suppose the trip was intended especially for passengers, and express freight. In those days Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Cincinnati, occasionally preached at the houses of Presbyterians residing in this vicinity—for they had no church buildings—and on some of those occasions Colonel Fulton, who was one of the original members and aided in the organization of the Presbyterian Church here, took his canoe to Cincinnati and brought Mr. Wilson down, and after the meetings were over took him home in the same way.

As the population increased the commerce increased, and larger vessels were required. The Browns not only had the greatest number of acres under cultivation of any in the vicinity, but they had more intercourse with Cincinnati. Ethan Allen Brown, one of the brothers, was consecutively Governor of Ohio, a Senator in Congress from that State, and a judge of its Supreme Court, during which time his home was, as might be most convenient for himself, at Cincinnati or at the farm just above Rising Sun. The Browns required a larger boat for their own convenience, and as they were very liberal and accommodating people, any respectable neighbor had as free use of it as if it were his own. This boat was made of a large poplar tree and was got out some sixty to sixty-five feet in length as a regular canoe. It was then split in twain lengthwise and widened some four or five feet, by putting in ribs and planking the bottom. This made a boat some seven or eight feet wide, and furnished a carrying capacity of fifteen to twenty tons. Of course such a boat could not be propelled with a man at the bow and another at the stern. Regular walking boards were put on each side, keel-boat fashion, and thus, with setting poles, against one end of which the shoulder was placed, the other being against the bottom of the river, was the boat driven along by men steadily walking and pushing the boat from under them, like a horse walking upon the wheel of a treadmill. This boat was used by

the Browns for their own needs, and by others who transported the whisky that was made at the little distilleries in the neighborhood of one or two barrels' capacity per day, the farm products, the rags, ginseng, etc., that were taken in exchange for "store goods" by the merchants of that day, and went so frequently that it may be said to have been the first regular packet between Rising Sun and Cincinnati. This large boat, properly manned, would make the voyage to Cincinnati in a day and a half to two days, according to the stage of the river and depth of lading.

After 1820 steamboats were seen more frequently, but the people rarely shipped or traveled by them. In the first place, there was no certainty as to when the boat might come along. In the next place, there was no certainty that it would take either passengers or cargo when it did come; and in the third place, the voyage could be made by the canoe about as rapidly as by the steamboat, considerably cheaper, and a good deal pleasanter. The average steamboat captain of fifty or sixty years ago seemed to think that profanity, vulgarity and rudeness toward passengers, officers and crew, were as essential to the prosecution of the voyage as was steam. A passenger on one of the slow boats of the day, as it was approaching a place where the current was very rapid, remarked: "There is very strong water just ahead of us, but if there is any virtue in swearing we will be able to stem it." After a hard struggle and much profanity, the boat succeeded in passing the place, when the passenger remarked: "The captain of this boat is about the only man who could swear this boat through that ripple without the aid of rosin." As a specimen of the comparative speed of the steamboats and canoes of that day, it is told of our venerable citizen, Mr. Hathaway, that he had some cargo ready to ship, which a passing boat refused to take on board. He immediately got a pirogue, placed his cargo on board, started after the steamboat, and in good time overtook her, when "they had it nip and tuck," first one ahead and then the other until they came to McCullom's ripple, six miles below Cincinnati, where Mr. Hathaway, getting the advantage of the gentler current close to the sandbar at that place, got in advance. A favorable breeze springing up at the moment, he spread a

one occasion he has been seen sitting and cooking utensils with some members of the community, and a sailor boy, and knowing some marketing, and he beat his competitor on some occasions I suppose the others. He was known to accommodate people in the way of business in the way of a regular steam packet, and some of those occasions he was in the trade between Rising Sun and some of the original members and some of the points abandoned the original Church here, too. Wilson down, and all in the same way.

As the population grew so as to require larger vessels were built expressly and a greater number of a regular weekly boat built expressly and a greater number of a regular weekly but they had more a mast, and a sail was used Brown, one of the br other times a horse, which a Senator in Congre the other attached, was put on the preme Court, during against the current. Captain most convenient for are at the time of writing above Rising Sun. western waters now living, own convenience, and a thriving business for dating people, any drove Captain Thompson if it were his own. with Captain John J. Roe, an and was got out son ward achieved such an envi- ular canoe. It was an immense fortune as a some four or five fe no navigated nearly every tom. This made a Mississippi. nished a carrying passengers, passen- such a boat could instead of taking the canoes another at the stern through Kentucky, which side, keel-boat fashion to Cincinnati. It was by end of which the sl party of persons bound for the bottom of the river a steamboat and another ily walking and pushing and walking to the destina- walking upon the water to arrive. The following

walk through, the other sat down to wait for a boat. The one was in Cincinnati some time before night. The other waited all day, built a fire on the shore at night and took shelter in an empty flatboat at the landing, and at noon of the second day succeeded in getting on board a steamboat which arrived in Cincinnati some time during that night. Two or three boats passed up in the meantime but would not stop.

Old-time steamboatmen used to seem to take a sort of delicate pleasure in refusing to stop at way places for freight or passengers. They were not content to pass by quietly, but not infrequently, upon being hailed, would yell out some insulting remark to the pitiful creature on shore, who was not only willing to contribute largely to the usually depleted coffers of the stevedore, but was most abject in the presence of the autocrat that controlled the craft. For the sake of being transported the poor passenger would submit to all manner of indignities and impositions. Until a regular steam packet was placed in the trade between Rising Sun and Cincinnati, our people were compelled to pay the most exorbitant prices for freight and passage, and at the same time were furnished with few facilities and very few accommodations. But the times changed. The habits, character and manners of steamboatmen greatly improved. The facilities were largely increased, prices greatly reduced, and accommodations so far superior to those of the olden time as to hardly admit of placing them in the same category.

Old-time steamboat travel was attended with great danger, there was a carelessness and recklessness, then looked upon as a matter of course, which would not now be tolerated. There was frequent racing, and all considerations of safety were lost in the desire to out-travel a competing boat. There were no laws to regulate the equipments of boats, or require competency on the part of the officers. Any man that an owner chose might go on as a captain, engineer or pilot, and once in charge each man was law unto himself. The frequency of sinkings, burnings and collisions, and the number of lives destroyed was something alarming to all travelers.

Having acquired a taste for literary studies, and having a strong desire to receive a classical education, by my father's consent I left home to earn the money to accomplish this object. At the age of nineteen I made a contract to work as a hand on a flatboat to New Orleans. On the 6th day of January, 1810, in company with my employer and another hand, I crossed the Falls of the Ohio on our voyage to our port of destination, where we arrived on the 10th day of the ensuing month of March.

My employer was a farmer, and after he had sold a large portion of his boatload he returned home. He employed me to sell the residue of his load. Having sold out the residue of the load, I left New Orleans about the 1st of May, and arrived home on the 1st day of June, having received nearly a hundred dollars for my services. In traveling home I passed through many Cheyenne and Chickasaw tribes of Indians. In the journey home I walked about eight hundred miles, swimming across streams, wading through swamps, and sleeping in the open air on the ground. When I arrived home I found a good linguist teaching a school in Charlestown, and by the advice of my good friend, Rev. Mr. Todd, I commenced the study of the Latin language under this teacher. His name was Graham. He was an Irishman, and distinguished for his classical learning.

After reading a few elementary books in Latin, I commenced Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. Having read a considerable portion of this work during the summer and fall of this year, I found my funds nearly exhausted, and it became necessary that I should procure funds to enable me to prosecute my studies for the ensuing year. Early in the year 1811, I made another contract to work as a hand on a flatboat to New Orleans, for the sum of sixty dollars. We commenced our journey in January and arrived at New Orleans in February. I received my wages and walked home again. I then read *Virgil* under Mr. Graham, and continued my Latin studies until September.

I had resolved when a small boy to accomplish two objects if I had the opportunity to do so. I had determined to go to New Orleans on a flatboat, and to go on a campaign against

the Indians. Having accomplished the former object, I had an opportunity of accomplishing the latter. Indian tribes on the upper Wabash had assumed a hostile attitude under the influence of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet. The President of the United States placed under the command of General Harrison the Fourth Regiment of U. S. Infantry, and authorized him to call to his aid such portion of the Indiana militia as he might deem necessary to check the hostile movements of Tecumseh and the Prophet.

I laid Virgil aside and became a volunteer member of a company of riflemen. On the 12th of September we commenced our march toward Vincennes and arrived there in about six days, marching 120 miles. We remained there about a week, and then took up the march to a point on the Wabash sixty miles above Vincennes, on the east bank of the river, where we erected a stockade fort that we named Fort Harrison, the city of Terre Haute now being located three miles below this fort. The name of this fort was given by Colonel Joseph H. Davies, a distinguished lawyer from Kentucky, who commanded the dragoons, with the rank of major. Upon this occasion he delivered a beautiful and eloquent speech. He was one of Kentucky's most gifted orators. He fell in the Battle of Tippecanoe, gallantly charging the Indians. Peace to his ashes.

The glorious defense of this fort nine months after it was erected, by Captain Z. Taylor, was the first step in the brilliant military triumph that made him President of the United States.

The army arrived at the Prophet's Town on the 6th of November, in the evening. We slept on our arms. Two hours before daybreak, on the morning of the 7th, the battle commenced. The result is a part of American history. Whilst the leaden messengers of death were doing their fatal deeds in every part of the encampment, I felt a strong mental impression that the God of Battles would preserve my life.

I mention this fact because many persons who fell in the battle had presentiments of their deaths. Such was the case with a young man who fell at the fire where we both slept.

are the most abject slaves in all God's moral universe. These vices are usually the first steps in the pathway of infamy, and the heralds of the inevitable ruin of their victims.

As before stated, I had formed in early life two purposes, one to be a merchant and the other to be a classical scholar. I had abandoned the former to accomplish the latter. The latter was defeated by the War of 1812. The war demanded my services in defense of the frontier inhabitants of Indiana, and my own relatives and friends. At the close of the war I was advised to read law and become a member of the legal profession by my very good friend, Mr. Todd. I followed his advice. The result is already stated.

I. NAYLOR.

Crawfordsville, Ind., March 16, 1852.

The wife of Judge Naylor was a Catharine Anderson, the daughter of Captain Anderson, who was with General Washington at Valley Forge. Judge Naylor, at the time of the Pigeon Roost massacre, was a boy working in the field of his frontier home near Charlestown, Ind., and in response to a messenger telling him of the massacre then going on, mounted his horse and rode to the scene rifle in hand, to avenge the death of his neighbors. He also served in the ranks of the American army during the War of 1812. The following children of this famous old Indian fighter still live, and are located as follows: Mrs. Elizabeth Briar, aged seventy-six, Spokane, Wash.; Mrs. Mary Naylor Whiteford, Marion, Ind., aged seventy-one; Mrs. Catherine Anderson Briar, aged sixty-nine, Oakland, Cal.; and Mrs. Virginia L. Hay, aged sixty-six, Evanston, Ill.

NORTHERN INDIANA TERRITORY IN 1804.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.

[For the following petition for the separation from Indiana, and erection into a new territory, of the district north of the present line between Indiana and Michigan, we are indebted to Dr. Harlow Lindley, Director of the Department of Archives and History, Indiana State Library. Original printed copies of the Memorial are very rare, and it is often missing in collections of the publications of the early Congress, which are supposed to be complete. Dr. Lindley secured a copy while in Washington, D. C., this summer. Coming from a section of Indiana which afterward became Michigan, the petition is of interest to both States.—EDITOR.]

MEMORIAL
OF THE
CITIZENS AND INHABITANTS
OF THE
INDIANA TERRITORY
PRAYING FOR
THE INTERPOSITION OF CONGRESS
TO RELIEVE THEM OF
CERTAIN OPPRESSIONS
AND
EMBARRASMENTS

WASHINGTON CITY:
Printed by William Duane & Son,
1804

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the Senate, and the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

We, the undersigned memorialists, citizens and inhabitants of that district of the Indiana territory, situate north of an East and West line, extending through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, humbly pray the speedy interposition of Congress, in relief of the oppression and embarrassments under which we at present labor, originating in local causes, and which your memorialists endeavored to point out and impress with force, by their petitions, presented to Congress, at their last session, praying for a separate territory. Notwithstanding the unhappy fate which those petitions met with, and the consequent disappointments your memorialists experienced, on failure of their wishes, yet our present situation is too distressing to justify our silence upon a subject of such infinite consequence to the government, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But one sentiment prevails within this district, upon the expediency as well as necessity of a separate territory; it is but too evident, that upon the success of this single measure, depends the happiness, good order, and prosperity of the citizens of this district, whilst its failure can not but produce consequences of a serious and alarming nature, tending to all the horrors of out-lawry, oppression, and anarchy.

Impressed with a full belief, that our government are desirous of increasing the happiness of the citizen, regardless of the quarter of the union he may inhabit, we are again induced earnestly to solicit Congress, that our situation may not be passed over in silence, but that Congress will, at an early period in the approaching session, take up and reconsider the prayer of your memorialists, presented at the last session, and if possible, and consistent with sound policy, grant to your memorialists a separate, distinct, and independent territory, as prayed for in said memorial, and for the causes therein named.

Did your petitioners conceive it necessary to enumerate new and additional reasons, shewing the expediency of granting their

prayers, many might be adduced. One in particular, we beg leave to state, which shows forcibly the impossibility of the present government to extend law to us.

From good authority we state, that in the month of September, A. D. 1803, the legislature of the Indiana territory adopted several laws, altering, amending and repealing those then in force, yet those laws, although adopted more than twelve months past, have never yet been seen in this place, of course have not come into operation in this district; by stating this fact, we do not intend to attach any blame or censure upon our governor, but to demonstrate the impracticability of communicating with the seat of government.

We beg leave further to state, that active measures are now on foot through the territory, for entering upon the second or representative grade of government; this step if successful, will greatly add to the burthens under which we now labor, by an increase of taxes, without any possible chance of sharing a proportional degree of benefit.

Your petitioners, therefore, do again renew their prayer, that Congress will erect into a separate territory, that district of land north of the above mentioned line, and grant your petitioners a government, similar to the one contemplated by the ordinance of Congress of 1787, for the organization and government of the late North West territory. And as in duty bound, will ever

Detroit, 24th October, 1804.

pray.

JAMES MAY, AND OTHERS.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

Published by the Indiana Historical Society

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

The next annual meeting of the American Historical Association will begin at Washington, Monday, December 28, and will continue at Richmond, Va., from December 29 to Thursday, the 31st. There will doubtless be a large representation from Indiana, attracted both by the unusual interest of the program and the prospect of getting the 1910 meeting over with. So far as arranged the program is as follows: Monday, December 28, the Honorable James Bryce, Secretary of the American Political Science Association, will preside at the Historical Association. Tuesday, December 29, the American Political Science Association will hold a separate session, and no attendance will be taken by a representative of the Historical Association. In the evening Professor George B. Hodge, Secretary of the Historical Association, will preside. Wednesday there will be sessions on the History of the United States, on the History of the United States Schools, and a general session on the History of the United States. Thursday there will be sessions on the History of the United States, on the History of the United States Local Historical Societies, and on the History of the United States English History, American Colonial and American History and on Southern history. The Thursday session will be addressed by General E. P. Alexander on the campaigns of the Civil War in Virginia. Between sessions short excursions will run to the battlefields of Gettysburg, Seven Pines and Yellow Tavern. After the close of the meeting on Friday, January 1, there will be an excursion to the University and the University of Virginia.

This meeting will be of great interest to college professors,

teachers of history in high schools, and to all others as well who are readers of historical works, whether professional historians or not. The trip will be a very convenient one to take from most parts of the State. It may be possible for a large number to go together from Indianapolis. All who expect to go, whether from this city or not, are requested to send a card to that effect to the editor, stating so far as possible their plans and desires as to time of departure, route and Indiana headquarters. All who are interested are urged to send in suggestions. Full information will be published in the December number of the Quarterly.

In our last number, in an editorial under the title Historical Societies, a short account of various societies was given and suggestions were made concerning some possible activities which lay before societies in Indiana. Among the responses received was one which embodied the plan of securing, through the organizations perpetuating the memory of Revolutionary ancestors, a record of the movements of these families, showing date of immigration into this State, location here and other items of value in throwing light upon the populating of the State. This should be feasible and, indeed, steps are being taken in this direction. The development of these and other plans should and doubtless will be carried out by the proper agencies. In this number of the magazine it may be of interest to sketch briefly the work of historical organizations in Wisconsin, which in co-operative historical work stands at the head of all our neighboring States. It is not our purpose to show how this preeminence was attained, but to describe briefly the agencies and organizations now at work there. It must, however, be recognized that most of the work is due to the exceptional talents, scholarship and application of the first secretary and superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Lyman C. Draper, and his present successor, Reuben G. Thwaites.

The parent and central organization in Wisconsin is the State Historical Society. This is supported by the State at a cost of thousands of dollars annually. It enjoys the possession of a magnificent \$600,000 building which houses not only its own mu-

seum, portrait gallery and library, but the library of the State University and several allied societies. It has an employed secretary, librarian and assistants. Its library is practically the State Library. The management is vested in a board of thirty-six curators chosen for a period of three years, who together with the secretary, librarian, Governor of the commonwealth, Secretary of State and State Treasurer, constitute the executive committee of the society. Local societies in the State are incorporated under the State laws and form auxiliary societies, their members thus becoming auxiliary members of the State Society. The membership of the latter includes, also, life, annual, honor and ex-officio members. The first two classes are open to practically all citizens of the State upon payment of one dollar and of two dollars respectively.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin may be said to have a three-fold activity of collecting historical materials, publications, and meetings.

The work as a collector of historical materials has been well up. In the first year of his employment with the Society he secured a thousand volumes and documents, and in thirty years has built up a reference library, chiefly of books and pamphlets. In 1907 he published a list of these. Among the great collections are the principal newspapers of the State, the largest outside collection of maps and manuscripts of the "Middle West and South," a large genealogical collection, the records of the United States, and the col-

lection in the bulletins of the well known Wisconsin Historical Society, and lists, reports and publications, no magazines or periodicals are issued. That these publications themselves, are among

the most important contributions of the last generation to American history.

The meetings of the society are held annually and occasionally are combined with State historical conventions held at different cities of the State. Important papers by members and outsiders are read at these meetings. The proceedings of the last meeting, November 7, 1907, at Madison, now published, gives the reports of officers, of nine auxiliary (local) societies, all showing healthy activity, and an interesting collection of the papers read by Reuben G. Thwaites and others at the meeting. A new activity is favorably reported upon, namely sending out lecturers upon historical subjects to speak wherever local or general interest can be served by such a visit. Numerous other means are resorted to in increasing popular interest and support, such as inspiring historical articles in local newspapers and sending out suggestions to local historians. All in all, the report of the last year's work makes a very impressive recital.

NOTES.

A bronze bust of Judge Stephen Neal, of Lebanon, was presented on July 10 to the Indiana State Library. Judge Neal was one of the well known jurists of the State and attained a national reputation by drafting the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States which was presented in Congress by Godlove S. Orth from his district. The bust is one of three designed and executed by Miss Clara Barth Leonard, one of which was given to the Lebanon Library and another retained by the donor, Mr. C. F. S. Neal, son of Judge Neal. Miss Leonard worked from photographs and the death mask, and had, also, the benefit of the suggestions and criticisms of the late Louis Gibson, a life-long friend of Judge Neal. The presentation was made by Union B. Hunt, on behalf of Mr. Neal, and the gift was accepted by Demarchus C. Brown, State Librarian, on behalf of the State.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association will hold its second annual meeting during the Thanksgiving season of this year.

Mr. E. A. Randall is president and G. L. Martzolf corresponding secretary of this organization.

Professor Walter C. Fleming has resigned the position of secretary of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, which is to be held at Richmond in connection with the next meeting of the American Historical Association at the close of this year. Professor St. George L. Sioussat will take his place.

The committee of seven appointed at the Madison meeting of the American Historical Association, Dr. Dunbar Rowland, chairman, to arrange for cooperation of the various States, especially in the Mississippi Valley, in securing transcripts from foreign archives, held a meeting at Washington April 16, and among other things recommends that historical societies, so far as possible, refrain from work of this sort until carefully prepared general lists can be made by joint effort.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its first meeting at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota, June 22-23. Professor Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, was elected president for 1908-'09. State Librarian Demarchus C. Brown attended from Indiana.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Monroe County Historical Society is to have a separate room in the new court-house, given for its use and furnished by order of the county commissioners. Interest in the society is reported as constantly increasing. At the last regular meeting, announced for June 26, Mr. Dudley F. Smith read a paper upon The Old-Time Roads and the Old-Time Farming.

ACTIVITIES OF STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Oregon Historical Society is planning a series of leaflets on different phases of Oregon history to be supplied to the pupils of the common schools of the State.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is to have a \$25,000 addition to the Carnegie Library at Oklahoma City for its exclusive use.

The Mississippi Historical Society has incorporated, May 1,

1908, the Mississippi Association of History Teachers as an auxiliary and is printing the papers of the latter for distribution.

The Nebraska State Historical Society has obtained an appropriation from the State for a building which is to be devoted to its use.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

INDIANA BAPTIST HISTORY.

In "Indiana Baptist History, 1798-1908," Professor William T. Stott offers a desirable contribution to a field wherein we have little and need more. A book or two on Presbyterianism, two or three touching Methodism, a brochure on Congregationalism and this work on the Baptist church virtually comprise what we have; and yet the religious movements within a commonwealth are an integral and very important part of its history, representing, as they do, beliefs that operate through every stratum of society, and which are no small factor in determining the character of the people. Whatever one may think of the merits or absurdities of the diverse dogmas held by the several sects, it is a matter of deep sociologic interest that the church organizations and the conflicts whereby they are strengthened, present in their histories the sterling virtues of righteous ideals, zeal, self-sacrifice and sturdiness to a degree hardly paralleled in any other human activity. An institution that fosters these things surely bears an all-important part in the development of a community, and so, be it repeated, records in this field afford desirable data.

Professor Stott, for thirty-three years president of Franklin College, the leading Baptist school of the State, was pre-eminently the man to have written this book. No one, perhaps, could have had access to more material, though, unfortunately, the records of many of the earlier churches are lost beyond all finding. More first-hand information might have been desired, but nevertheless Mr. Stott has brought within his 374 pages much that will be new to the reader.

The establishment of the Baptist church in Indiana antedates all others, except the Catholic. The first organization dates

back to 1798, when four persons, John and Sophia Fisher and John and Cattern Pettet, formed themselves into a church, meeting on Owen's creek and Silver creek, in what is now Clark county. The Baptist churches early attained to an important place, and in many localities they were on the ground and flourishing when the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations made their appearance. In some places, however, these rural Baptist churches were supplanted by other denominations, and the causes of this decadence are attributed by some to the refusal of such churches to "grow" with the general progress of opinion.

By 1809 two district associations were organized; by 1825 these had grown to eleven, with more than seventy-five churches, estimating those included at dates of organizations. A list of the preachers and laymen who were prominent in these early churches includes many men of force and ability who played their part in the making of the State—the Holmans, Jesse L. and William H., Milton Stapp, the Stotts, the Vawters, Isaac McCoy, and others; and the numerous biographical sketches which form a conspicuous part of Mr. Stott's book are, in many instances, not only interesting studies in character, but also throw light upon the times. They reveal various virtues and shortcomings of those days—sturdiness, zeal and heroism on the one hand, and on the other a narrowness and intolerance of opinion that seems insufferable at the present day. Judged charitably, these opinions, of course, then had all the sanctity of high truth, and the unyielding tenacity with which they were held was one evidence of the virtues.

"Indiana Baptist History" is published by the author, 1908, and copies may be had by addressing William T. Stott, superintendent Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, Knightstown, Ind.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

HISTORY OF MICHIGAN CITY.

[By Rollo B. Oglesbee and Albert Hale. Illustrated by Albert J. Widdell. 1908.]

The preservation of local history is finding some advocates in different parts of the State. This work and the following

mentioned give evidence of this fact. The authors have been engaged in their professions but have taken time for this public service. Is it not a public service to preserve the historical facts of a community?

The "History of Michigan City" was begun by Mr. Oglesbee in 1905, but in 1907, finding it impossible on account of pressing business duties to complete the work alone, he called on Albert Hale, a friend, with whose aid it has been finished this year. It is with great regret that we have to chronicle almost at the same time, the appearance of this work and the death of its principal author. In his death, which occurred about a month ago, the historical as well as the official circles of the State (Mr. Oglesbee was at the time at the head of the bank department of the State Auditor's office) have suffered loss.

Mr. Oglesbee has given much time and space to the early struggles in the Northwest Territory long before Michigan City was thought of. This part of the story is by no means new, but it is the best feature of the volume. Mr. Oglesbee contends that the first purchase of land for the city was in November, 1830, instead of September, 1833, as was maintained by others.

The discussion of the Michigan Road takes up a chapter of considerable interest. The Railroads, Public Improvements and the Indiana Prison are given separate chapters. The last mentioned chapter is a valuable contribution. It is appreciative of the growth of this institution into a modern, well-conducted establishment belonging to all the people of the commonwealth.

The closing chapters—except the one on the Prison—have been hurriedly written and edited. One chapter is devoted to a private corporation. This is a part of Michigan City, it is true, but it resembles advertising, and therefore lessens the value of the book as history.

The space given to "Schools, Libraries, Churches, Cemeteries, and Parks" amounts to one chapter of ten pages. Mr. Oglesbee himself thought this entirely too insignificant—and rightly—but was forced to yield. The absence of a table of contents and index is a serious oversight.

Mr. Oglesbee deserves great credit for collecting the facts

about Michigan City. It is hoped that he may have successors in Indiana.

DEMARCHUS C. BROWN.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORY OF MARSHALL COUNTY, INDIANA.

[By Daniel McDonald. Illustrated. Two volumes, \$18. Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago.]

Mr. McDonald is the gentleman who, as a member of the Indiana State Senate, secured the passage of a bill to commemorate the removal of the Pottawattomies, and especially to cherish the record of the old chief Menominee. It can readily be understood, therefore, that he writes with interest and some authority about the early history of the northern part of Indiana, and in particular Marshall county.

Now that the Indian is a vanishing race, the necessity of recording the life and customs of these people becomes manifest to all, and Mr. McDonald is a leader in perpetuating the good work.

The prehistoric features, mound builders, and buffaloes, for instance, are not neglected. A large part of the first volume is taken up with the movements of the population and the organization of the county in 1836.

The main point in the histories of Indiana counties at present is the preservation of the facts. Much will be lost in manuscripts, letters and newspapers unless men like Mr. McDonald collect and preserve them. The writing of a scientific history will come later on. However, Mr. McDonald shows considerable skill in the arrangement of this material and gives the various sections their proportionate value. This is a difficult thing because of local pressure to be represented in the history.

The second volume contains the biographies of the well-known and older inhabitants of Marshall county, with portraits. It is in this part that local and personal pressure may be put upon an author. Mr. McDonald has done this fairly well, but not so well as the earlier history. One gets the impression that the history has been a work of love and not profit. There is a good table of contents and index.

DEMARCHUS C. BROWN.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. IV

DECEMBER, 1908

No. 4

AN EARLY EDUCATIONAL REPORT.

[The following document is taken from the Senate Journal for 1821, at the end of the volume and under separate paging. It is the starting point of the most important legislation on educational matters under the old constitution, and may be said to be the beginning of our State educational system. It is reprinted here because the original is rare and in many places can be read only by the use of a magnifying glass.—EDITOR.]

THURSDAY MORNING, December 6, 1821.

MESSRS. CASWELL, Todd and Welsh, from the committee appointed by the last General Assembly to prepare a bill providing for a regular system of education, now made the following report:

The committee appointed by a joint resolution of both Houses of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, to draft and report at the present session, "A bill providing for a general system of Education, ascending in a regular gradation, from Township Schools to a State Seminary wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all," respectfully beg leave to report, that they have had the subject under consideration—and fully reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the General Assembly, as to the importance of a general diffusion of learning and knowledge among the rising generation, particularly in a government, which, like ours, is bottomed upon public opinion, and where intelligence and virtue are the strong safeguards of the Republic; have given it all the attention which time and their various avocations would permit.

Your committee have to report that, owing to the sickness and death of part of their number, and the non-attendance of others, they have not only been deprived of the benefits anticipated from the well known talents and learning of those with whom they have had the honor to be associated; but those circumstances

that it is in the power of your committee sooner to conclude than a greater portion of time, since the last session of the General Assembly, might have been devoted to the important subject of what to do with the revenues. Although by the time of the adjournment of your committee were only informed of the plan of a bill providing for a general system of education, yet they have deemed the subject of sufficient importance to carry a great way in surveying the grounds of calculation upon which a bill when reported may eventually rest.

The donations made by the Congress of the United States, for the benefit of Schools and a State University, although not without a reservation given on the part of the State, by a relinquishment of the right of taxation for a limited time, are liberal in the extreme, and the Union collectively, although they can not directly have an indirect interest in their final appropriation. It is believed by your committee, that if a proper disposition be made of those donations, a permanent fund may be created, sufficient in amount not only to disseminate the general and more necessary branches of education in the several townships, but also to furnish such endowments to an university as with some assistance will enable this State to occupy, in a literary point of view, a highly respectable standing. But this, in the opinion of your committee, can not be expected immediately. High attainments in literature, are not the results of a moment; but like all other improvements, must be gradual and progressive. Your committee are deeply impressed with the importance of the first step which may be taken towards the accomplishment of the grand design. Should a hasty and improvident disposition be made of those funds, your committee are well aware that the error may be fatal; and that the grants of the General Government, so beneficial in their object and so liberal in their amount, will be rendered unavailing; thereby destroying the brightest prospects, not only of the present generation, but those which are to come after us. Under this view of the subject, your committee can not but feel, that they are travelling over consecrated ground; and they do not mean it as a commonplace remark, when they say that it is with diffidence they suggest a course of

measures, which, if finally adopted by the Legislature, must be pregnant with such importance consequences.

Your committee have been induced to lay before the General Assembly, the result of their deliberations, so far as they have progressed, that the committee on the subject of education, may be as early as possible in possession of the facts and calculations upon which they may be called to report, and which shew the foundation of the systems which have heretofore been adopted by the older States.

The State of Indiana is estimated by your committee, to contain twenty-two millions three hundred and twelve thousand nine hundred and sixty acres, including land and water.

From this amount, your committee have made the following deductions:

	ACRES
For that part of the State covered by the waters of Lake Michigan	96,000
For those lands embraced by Clark's grant.....	149,000
For reservation in Knox and other counties.....	30,420
For lands reserved for the use of the University.....	46,080
<hr/>	
Total amount of deduction.....	*417,500
Amount of the whole area.....	22,312,960
Amount of deduction.....	417,500
<hr/>	
	21,895,460

From which aggregate amount, one thirty-sixth part is to be taken as lands appropriated for the use of schools, amounting to six hundred and eight thousand two hundred and seven acres.

These lands, or part of them, your committee would recommend, should be put in market as soon as practicable; and the situation of the country will justify the measure.

The following table will show what may be realized by such sale, at the relative prices of one dollar and twenty-five cents to five dollars per acre, provided the whole amount should be put in market and can be sold:

* This is an error, but figures are copied from printed report.

Amount of sales at \$1,25.....	\$ 760,258,9
Do. at 1,50.....	912,310
Do. at 1,75.....	1,064,362
Do. at 2,00.....	1,216,444
Do. at 2,25.....	1,368,465
Do. at 2,50.....	1,520,517
Do. at 2,75.....	1,672,569
Do. at 3,00.....	1,824,621
Do. at 3,25.....	1,976,672
Do. at 3,50.....	2,128,724
Do. at 3,75.....	2,280,776
Do. at 4,00.....	2,432,828
Do. at 4,25.....	2,584,879
Do. at 4,50.....	2,736,931
Do. at 4,75.....	2,888,983
Do. at 5,00.....	3,041,035

For the purpose of facilitating the sale of the aforesaid lands, your committee would recommend the establishment of one or more Land Offices at the discretion of the General Assembly, to be placed at such points as they may think most advantageous.

Whether these lands shall be sold for cash in hand, or upon credit, payable by instalments, your committee find some difficulty in determining.—In favor of a sale for cash in hand, it may be urged, that if the proceeds of the sales are funded, together with the interest at the expiration of each year, that the accumulation will be greater than can be realized from the extra price for which it is supposed the lands will sell, should a credit be allowed. Your committee, however, are inclined to think, that considering the present embarrassed state of the circulating medium of the country, the scarcity of the precious metals and the great amount of land now in market, that greater inducements will be held out to purchasers, should the lands be sold on a credit of four years, payable by instalments, according to the system heretofore adopted by the United States; and that the lands will command a price of more than sufficient to balance such accumulation.—But whether the accumulation of a debt existing between the government and the people and the consequent forfeitures which may be expected to follow such credits, are considerations

sufficient to overbalance the difference in price, your committee will not attempt to determine. Should the lands be sold for prompt payment and the proceeds, together with the annual interest, be put upon loan, the fund will rapidly increase in amount, and the yearly dividends will consequently be greater.

The following table will shew the ratio of increase, from one to ten years, from the different prices, from one dollar and twenty-five cents to five dollars per acre. [See next page.]

This table, together with the other, may probably contain some errors, and in no instance have the fractional parts of a dollar been calculated; but they are supposed to be sufficiently correct to answer all the purposes for which they are intended.

Should the legislature be disposed to fund the proceeds of the sales, it is believed by your committee, that at the expiration of six years, a sufficient dividend may be made to maintain a school in each school district, for the term of three months in each year, out of the public money alone.

Your committee are also of opinion, that a school for a shorter term than three months in each year, would not be calculated to promote the intended object, and that good teachers can not be obtained without great difficulty, for a shorter term. To effect this object, your committee would recommend that so soon as any money shall be received upon such sales, or upon instalments which may become due from time to time, that the amount be loaned upon mortgages of real estate, in small sums, the interest to be paid annually, which interest also be funded in like manner, at the expiration of each year, having special regard that the debt be perfectly secured, upon such landed estates as have an undoubted title, the amount of which shall be sufficient to secure the State against all possible losses. But should the dividends be immediately made after the first year, without further increase, the following table will shew the number of townships in which schools are eventually to be organized, the number of schools necessary, allowing nine square miles to each school district, the amount of dividend for the first year, at the relative prices; also the amount which may be divided, should the fund be permitted to accumulate for the term of six years.

A table showing the ratio of increase from one to ten years, at the different prices of one dollar twenty-five cents to five dollars per acre, upon the principle of finding the interest at the expiration of each year.

Price of lands	Am't of sales at the several prices of \$1.25 to \$5.00 per acre	Am't of principal and interest at the end of one year	Am't at the end of two years, principal and interest both being funded	Do. 3 years	Do. 4 years	Do. 5 years	Do. 6 years	Do. 7 years	Do. 8 years	Do. 9 years	Do. 10 years
\$1 25	\$ 760,258	\$ 805,878	\$ 858,205	\$ 905,478	\$ 959,806	\$1,-17,-94	\$1,078,457	\$1,143,145	\$1,211,731	\$1,284,431	\$1,361,500
1 50	912,310	967,048	1,025,070	1,086,574	1,151,768	1,220,874	1,294,126	1,371,773	1,454,079	1,541,393	1,633,308
1 75	1,064,392	1,228,223	1,195,876	1,267,628	1,343,685	1,424,306	1,509,764	1,600,349	1,696,369	1,798,151	1,908,040
2 00	1,216,414	1,299,398	1,366,761	1,448,766	1,536,691	1,627,832	1,725,501	1,829,031	1,938,772	2,005,698	2,178,403
2 25	1,368,465	1,450,572	1,537,607	1,629,863	1,727,655	1,831,314	1,941,183	2,057,665	2,192,925	2,324,500	2,463,9-0
2 50	1,520,517	1,611,748	1,708,452	1,810,959	1,919,616	2,034,782	2,156,868	2,285,280	2,422,396	2,567,739	2,121,803
2 75	1,672,569	1,772,923	1,879,293	1,992,056	2,111,579	2,238,174	2,372,464	2,514,812	2,665,643	2,825,643	2,995,192
3 00	1,824,631	1,930,098	2,045,903	2,163,657	2,296,776	2,436,962	2,582,904	2,737,878	2,902,150	3,076,276	3,260,852
3 25	1,976,672	2,095,272	2,220,968	2,354,247	2,505,501	2,655,831	2,815,180	2,984,090	3,163,135	3,352,923	3,554,098
3 50	2,128,724	2,250,447	2,381,734	2,525,238	2,687,352	2,848,563	3,019,509	3,200,679	3,392,720	3,596,253	3,812,061
3 75	2,280,776	2,417,622	2,562,679	2,716,439	2,879,425	3,052,190	3,235,321	3,429,440	3,635,206	3,853,348	4,081,517
4 00	2,432,828	2,578,894	2,733,628	2,897,645	3,166,904	3,356,918	3,558,334	3,771,834	3,998,886	4,238,093	4,492,313
4 25	2,5-4,879	2,739,971	2,904,374	3,078,632	3,263,350	3,459,151	3,666,690	3,886,691	4,019,888	4,267,066	4,629,114
4 50	2,736,931	2,901,446	3,075,214	3,259,726	3,455,309	3,662,697	3,882,384	4,115,327	4,362,246	4,623,961	4,901,4-8
4 75	2,888,983	3,0-2,921	-,-246,061	3,440,825	3,647,374	3,863,217	4,098,190	4,344,081	4,604,7-6	4,881,009	5,18-,86-
5 00	3,041,035	3,125,497	3,310,906	3,508,560	3,790,133	3,943,340	4,179,940	4,430,730	4,695,580	4,978,375	5,277,076

Number of towns in which schools are to be organized..... 950

Allowing each school district to contain nine square miles, there will be in the State.....3,800 schools

The following table will shew the amount of the annual dividend after the expiration of the first and sixth year, at the relative prices of \$1,25 to \$5,00 per acre:

Price of lands		Dividend after first year		Dividend after five years
At \$1,25	Div. for each Dist.	\$12,00	Div. for each Dist.	\$17,02
1,50	"	14,40	"	20,43
1,75	"	16,80	"	23,84
2,00	"	19,20	"	27,25
2,25	"	21,60	"	30,66
2,50	"	24,00	"	34,07
2,75	"	26,40	"	37,48
3,00	"	28,80	"	40,89
3,25	"	31,20	"	44,30
3,50	"	33,60	"	47,71
3,75	"	36,00	"	51,12
4,00	"	38,40	"	54,53
4,25	"	40,80	"	57,94
4,50	"	43,20	"	61,35
4,75	"	45,60	"	64,76
5,00	"	48,00	"	68,17

It is impossible for your committee to determine the amount of money which may be raised by selling the lands upon credit and funding the instalments, as they become due; but it is presumed the amount will be less than upon a cash sale. The above calculations are made upon the supposition of a sale of the whole of the lands; but as the proportion of school lands is the same throughout the State; the dividend in each township will be the same, although no sales should be effected, but in a more settled part of the country.

In determining the number of schools which may be necessary throughout the State, your committee have allowed nine square miles to each district, which will give to each township four district schools.

If these are properly located, the extreme distance which any children will have to travel to attend school, will be but little more than one mile and one half. This calculation, it is presumed, will suit the present population of this State; but in the State of New York, the law provides for the establishment of a school upon every four square miles, and if we allow to every quarter section of land four children, between the ages of four and sixteen years, the number would be sixty-four in every school district; a number sufficiently large, in the opinion of your committee, for advantageous improvement. Upon that calculation, nine school districts, instead of four, would be necessary in each township, which will consequently increase the number from three thousand eight hundred to eight thousand five hundred and fifty. It is the opinion of your committee, that the present population will not require a greater number than four, and the change can be made whenever the situation of the country shall require it. Your committee would therefore recommend, that a school district be located and established upon every territory of land comprising nine square miles whenever the population in such township and the situation of the school funds will justify it; the location to be made as nearly central within the district as may be.

Another system of rendering donation lands productive, has been adopted in many parts of the United States, which is that of leasing the lands, either permanently, or for a life or lives. But the same beneficial results have not been here as in Europe.

In England all lands are held by that kind of tenure, and the immense population of that country are not left to their choice of titles. The privileges attendant upon a fee simple interest, are not within the reach even of the wealthy; and although the existence of the people in a great measure depends upon a preservation of the timber and a proper cultivation of the soil, yet even there, the restrictions and forfeitures attendant upon those estates, are often considered burthensome and oppressive. If the sole object of the farmer were the accumulation of wealth, it will not be denied by your committee, that leases would be preferred; for it is believed that the individual who pays during his life the annual interest of five dollars per acre, by way of ground rent, pays a less sum than the purchaser, who advances his pur-

chase money, although he should buy the land at a much less price than five dollars per acre. But the independence attached to a fee simple interest, it is hoped, will long be cherished by every freeman, as one of his dearest rights.

It is believed, by your committee, that the great mass of individuals, who would make good tenants, will prefer the allodium, and they can not but be strongly impressed with a belief, that even permanent leases will not protect the property of the State from destruction, unless restrictions are imposed upon tenants, which might be considered incompatible with the principles of a free government. Should restrictions be imposed, much danger is to be apprehended in progress of time, from litigation and disputes, which may arise between the government and the people, should the system of leasing be adopted. If the tenants hold the lands without impeachment of waste, the experience of our sister States furnishes ground of fear, that after a few years, those tenants will find it convenient to quit the premises, not only leaving rent in arrear, but doing such damage to the lands as will place it beyond the power of the State, either to sell or lease them for many years. This system of leasing is also more objectionable here than in many of the eastern and northern States.

In most parts of that country, the second growth of timber is more thrifty than the first, and lands which were cleared of timber in the year eighteen hundred, have now a sufficient growth upon them to answer all the common purposes of life. But your committee would enquire, whether the experience of this country as to the second growth of timber, will justify such an expectation, as it regards the greater portion of lands in this State.

As an answer to these objections, it may be urged, that the tide of emigration is steadily flowing to the West, and that the future population of the State will justify the expectation, that tenants of a better class will soon be numerous. But it must be recollected, that the field for emigration is also immense and that the tide will probably continue to roll on over the western wilds, until it reaches the Pacific Ocean; so that little change can be expected until the long distant ebb shall return upon us a redundant population.

Your committee are however apprised, that many of your honorable body entertain different sentiments, as to the best methods of rendering the school funds productive and have therefore prepared a table, shewing what amount may probably be realized, by selling the lands at auction to the highest bidder, the purchaser paying annually, the interest of the amount he shall bid for the land, also shewing the increase of that fund by a loan of the amount of interest, from year to year, for the term of six years.

Suppose the lands to be sold at \$3,50 per acre, the purchaser paying annually the interest of the amount of sale, the yearly amount to be paid for a quarter section would be twenty-one cents per acre, which is equal to.....\$	36,60
Making for the whole, the gross sum of.....	127,720,00
If this sum together with the interest and the instalments, as they become due, from year to year, be funded for the term of six years; the whole amount will be.....	1,018,630,00
Interest of this sum one year is.....	53,454,00
Annual sum to be added as income.....	127,723,00
Making the sum, annually to be divided.....	181,177,00
Amount of dividends for each school will be.....	47,67
Should the lands sell at four dollars per acre, the amount to be paid for a quarter section will be twenty-four cents per acre, equal to.....	38,40
Making for the whole, the gross sum of.....	145,909,00
If this sum together with the annual interest, and instalments as they become due, from year to year, be funded for the term of six years, the whole amount will be.....	1,164,508,00
The amount to be divided at the end of six years, will be	207,081,00
Amount for each school district.....	54,49

In order that a regular system of education may be adopted throughout this State, and that the public funds shall not be improperly appropriated; your committee would recommend, that

a board of inspection be appointed, in each county where schools are to be established, whose duty it shall be, to examine the qualifications of all teachers, who may be offered by the trustees of the several school districts for employment, and shall give the person applying, a certificate of qualification, if they find his acquirements such as will justify such certificate, and that in no instance, the trustees of such school district be authorized to receive the dividends appropriated by law, for the payment of such teachers, unless the person by them employed to teach such school shall first have received such certificate. Your committee would further recommend, that it be made the duty of such inspectors, some or one of them, at least twice in each session, to visit and examine the several schools in their county, with a view of ascertaining the manner in which said schools are taught, and the improvements made in the several branches of education.

This course is suggested under a belief, that a public examination is calculated to excite vigilance in the instructors, and a spirit of emulation, among the youths under their charge.

Should strict attention be paid to the organization and improvement of township schools, they may become nurseries of teachers, for the wide extent of country yet to be settled.

Your committee would further suggest, that no person shall be considered as a competent teacher of such district school, unless he be of good moral character, and well versed in reading, writing, arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography and surveying.

Your committee have been more particular as to the qualifications of instructors, from a belief that few persons will feel themselves able to educate their sons at the University, and your committee have considered the above qualifications as indispensable to a good education.

The annual fund for the benefit of township schools, it is presumed, will not be more than sufficient to pay the instructors who must necessarily be employed, upon the system which has been suggested.

Towards the further accomplishments of the great object, your committee would recommend, that the qualified electors within the bounds of each school district, when organized for certain purposes, be a body politic and corporate, with power by their

vote to levy and collect a sufficient tax, to erect suitable buildings for the purpose of a school, and also by their vote to levy and collect a tax sufficient to maintain a school in such district, for any portion of time in each year which they may think proper, in aid of the general appropriation from the common fund.

Your committee are aware, that to compel the people of a district to support a school against their will, might be considered an infringement of their natural rights, but if each school district is left at liberty to adopt or reject such tax, it can not, in the opinion of your committee, be considered either burthen-some or oppressive.

As to the quality of buildings to be erected, and the time for which such schools shall be kept, they are left at liberty to determine, and of their comparative poverty or wealth, may be sole judges.

Your committee would recommend, that the internal police and management of such schools be intrusted (in addition to the board of inspection and instructor, as aforesaid) to a suitable number of trustees to be elected by the qualified electors in each district, who shall have power to employ teachers, furnish fuel and other necessities for the school, and to exercise a general superintendence over the concerns of said district.

ON THE SUBJECT OF COUNTY SEMINARIES.

As to the monies arising from fines, forfeitures and commutations for military service, your committee beg leave to enquire, whether the laws upon those subjects may not need amendment, and would respectfully advise, that they be made as efficient as practicable, for ascertaining the correct amount, and for securing and collecting the monies annually.

The amount of these monies, either on hand or now due, your committee can not, for want of sufficient data, with any precision conclusively state, but conjecture that the following estimates may not be far from correct:

From examinations had of the reports of agents for county seminaries, of twenty-six counties, for eighteen hundred and twenty, and including the previous years, the amount is stated at three thousand dollars, and for the year one thousand eight

hundred and twenty-one, from six counties, at two thousand and sixteen dollars, making an aggregate of five thousand and sixteen dollars, as now reported.

Your committee, however, feel pretty confident that upon a more full and careful investigation of the subject, there will be found due to the State, a much larger sum.

With regard to the establishment of county academies, your committee beg leave to enquire, whether the following plan may not be expedient, viz. That your Honorable body should by law, make it the duty of the several townships, in each county, to elect one trustee for each township, and resident therein, to be a member of the board of such academy, whenever the county funds for that purpose, will authorize the establishment of such an institution, and that as soon as there shall have been a regular and fair return made from each township, of the persons elected in it for a trustee, certified by the clerk and judges of the election, to the clerk of said county, whose duty it shall be to record the same, and the several trustees so elected shall have taken an oath, faithfully to discharge the duties of a trustee in such county academy, such board shall then be in law and in fact a body politic and corporate, either as it respects prosecution or defense, the acquisition or disposal of property, the choice of a teacher, or any other act, calculated to promote the interest of such academy, and corresponding with the original laws and constitution of the State of Indiana on that subject.

Your committee would, however, further recommend, that such academies should always be subject to any constitutional alterations, which the legislature may from time to time see proper to make.

Your committee further beg leave to recommend, a sale of the college lands upon the same principles heretofore suggested, as to the lands reserved for the use of the township schools, and the funding the proceeds in like manner.

It is believed by your committee, that five dollars per acre, be a fair price to establish as a medium for the whole, under this view they submit the following table, which will shew the amount of lands, so far as your committee have been able to as-

therein there, the amount of money which may be realized on such sale, the yearly accumulation of the fund, and the total amount at the expiration of six years. In this calculation, the interest is added to the principal and loaned at the expiration of each year.

NOTES UPON THE COLLEGE TOWNSHIPS.

Interest on Townships	2
Interest on Sections unsold	64
Interest on Notes in 20 Sections	40,960
Interest on 4,000 Notes sold at \$5, one-fourth to be paid to the State	\$204,800
Interest on \$24,800	51,200
Interest on \$5.20, the first year, and to be added to it making	57,528
Interest on \$7.28, the second year, and to be added to it making	61,430
The second installment of \$5.20 at the end of the second year and to be added to \$7.43, and making	112,630
Interest on \$112,630, for the third year and to be added to it together with the installment due at the end of that year	170,587
Interest for the fourth year on \$170,587, and to be added to it together with the installment due at the end of that year, and making the total sum of	232,022
Interest on \$232,022, the fifth year, and to be added to it, making at the end of that year the total sum of	246,012
Interest on the last amount at the end of the sixth year, and to be added to it, making a total sum of	260,772

With regard to an University for the State, contemplated in the law making provision for the promotion of literature, and the organization of such an institution, your committee recommend the passage of a law for establishing it, to be known by the name of the University of Indiana, and that a board of trustees be selected with great care, and appointed by law to superintend its interest.

Your committee think, that to appoint as great a number as

are found composing the eastern boards, might not be advisable, and would for different reasons which might be assigned tend rather to embarrass and retard the operations of such an institution, than give them facility.

Your committee would respectfully suggest the number of thirteen, besides the Governor and Lieut. Governor, who shall be trustees *ex officio*, a majority of whom having regularly met any time, shall form and be a quorum, for business; and that this board, constituted a body corporate and politic, should afterwards have authority to fill their own vacancies whenever they occur. That it should be the duty of this board, to appoint and manage all the interests of the institution, to select and employ a President, professors, tutors, a Librarian, Steward, etc.

Should the funds not be considerably increased, either by legislative aid or otherwise, beyond what a fair interest for five or six years will make them; your committee are of opinion that the most expedient plan as introductory to an University, will be to establish a College first: In that case, to make it respectable or indeed useful, it is respectfully suggested, that it will be necessary to place a President at the head of it, whose duty it shall be, besides exercising a general superintendency, to participate personally in giving instruction to the highest or first class in College, Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy and Criticism—2d, A professor of Mathematics and natural Philosophy—3d, a professor of Geography, ancient and modern, and astronomy, as also, 4thly, a professor of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, with one or more assistant tutors.

But should the funds be auspiciously managed and augmented, then and in that case, your committee take the liberty, prospectively of submitting it as their opinion, that a variety of other additions, to the merely literary departments should also be made.

Should it therefore, in a pecuniary point of view be found practicable, your committee would further respectfully suggest, the propriety of adding a professorship of Theology, with one of the law; together with a Medical School, to be conducted by its proper Professor.

In this department of the University, your committee beg leave to recommend the following arrangement: 1st, Clinical proper; 2d, one on the materia medica, botany and natural history; 3d, one of chemistry; 4thly, one on physiology, anatomy and obstetrics, and 5thly, one of surgery.

The whole, both in the literary and other departments, forming a Faculty, and reciprocally aiding each other in preserving order, and giving dignity to the institution.

When the committee recommended these last variety of additions to the College, they are aware from their instructions, that a gratuitous education is intended by the legislature in the merely literary departments, and from the lowest of them in a common school, to the highest in an University.

In correspondence with this legislative intention, the committee have made their calculations for a term of years not exceeding six, when according to the estimates of the committee, the aggregate amount as will be seen from the tables, will be \$260,772, from this amount 60,772, may then safely be employed: Say 40,000 dollars of it in erecting a building and the balance, 20,772 dollars, in obtaining a Library and a Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, in such portions of each as may then be found most expedient.

After this deduction is made, it will be seen, that there will remain as a permanent fund of dolls. 200,000, the annual interest amount of which is dolls. 12,000 which, allowing the President dolls. 2,000 per annum, and to Professors each, dolls. 1,200, and to the two tutors, each, dolls. 600,00. The whole amount of expenditures on the teachers will amount to \$6,800, leaving a balance yearly, of five thousand two hundred dollars, for appropriation in whatever way may be deemed best.

The committee submit it to the consideration of the legislature, whether it might not be advisable to appropriate annually \$1,000 of the remaining \$5,200 to increase the library.

With regard to the internal police, in any of the public institutions, from the Academy to the University, your committee have thought it would be premature in them to suggest any thing on that subject.

All the laws and regulations customary and necessary in the different departments in the College or University, must naturally and with propriety grow out of the authority with which your honorable body may be pleased to clothe the board of trustees, and with the exception of the tutors, all the various grades of instruction of each of them.

Your committee having thus briefly stated the result of their deliberations upon the several subjects indirectly involved in the resolution of your honorable body, would respectfully inquire, whether the public good imperiously demands that a further report should be made at the present session, or whether a vacation might not consistently be allowed your committee, or some one of them, or some other person to prepare a bill so tedious in detail as the organization of the different schools.

Your committee have preserved the materials which will greatly facilitate the drafting such bill, and wish to hold themselves subject to the will of your honorable body, but they humbly conceive, that until the General Assembly devise the means of rendering school funds productive, a bill organising schools, academies and universities, can not be material.

Your committee would further suggest to your honorable body that they have opened a communication with the heads of department of those States, where schools have been organized by public authority, as also with some of the most respectable literary institutions, in the United States; from which sources they expect to receive such documents as will greatly facilitate the accomplishment of so desirable an object.

Those documents, together with the time which will be allowed for reflection and study, in the opinion of your committee are important, and ought not to be dispensed with, unless existing cause, not within the knowledge of your committee, render a different course necessary.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. CASWELL,
Chairman of the Committee.

THE CIVIC VALUE OF LOCAL HISTORY.

BY ARTHUR W. DUNN.

[Read before the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Marietta, Ohio, November 23, 1902.]

MY paper to-day has nothing to do directly with research into local history, to stimulate which is one of the primary purposes of this association; but it has reference to the use of local history in the school curriculum, a subject which should have an equal claim upon our attention.

The importance of local historical research is steadily gaining recognition, and is reflected in a growing belief that local history should have a place in the course of study. The question of how to make use of it in the schools to the best advantage, however, has not yet been definitely answered. Down to the present time its use in the education of children has been, for the most part, unsystematic, and unfruitful of results commensurate with its possibilities and value.

This unsystematic and fragmentary use of local history in the schools is due in part to a lack of materials in available form. On the other hand, a truer conception of the values of local history as a study, and an intelligent effort to make a better use of the materials at hand, will inevitably stimulate a greater interest in the collection of adequate material, and in putting this material in available form. For example, the attempt to use local history systematically in the schools of Indianapolis during the last two years, and the discovery of a lack of adequate material in available form, led the Commercial Club to appropriate a sum of money to meet the situation. When the Indianapolis Water Company found that the children were striving earnestly, but in vain, to get accurate information regarding the Indianapolis water supply, this company voluntarily prepared a brief but well written account of the history of the water supply, and the present organization of its system, and is now cooperating in the preparation of a complete history of the subject.

The real causes of the difficulties in the use of local history in the schools are, in my mind, two:

1. A misconception of what constitutes useful local history; and
2. Failure to see how to introduce it in a course of study that is already criticised as being overcrowded.

The second difficulty may be largely cleared up by a proper answer to the first.

What is local history?

Have you never heard people in the West assert that western localities have no history worthy of the name? What have we in Indianapolis, for example, that is worthy of historical research, in the sense that we find such matters in Boston or Philadelphia? Indeed, we are inclined to look with envy upon Cincinnati and Marietta and our own Vincennes, because these places have a local history that we have not. What conception is this that permits such a feeling? It is due to a common notion that local history, to be worthy of the name, must have a manifest bearing upon some great national movement. The great movement of the Revolution or of our national beginnings can not be studied without having our attention focused constantly upon Boston and Philadelphia; and the story of the Northwest Territory must take into account Marietta, Cincinnati, and Vincennes. But where in our histories of the United States, or even of the Northwest, do we find it necessary to refer to Indianapolis?

What I mean is, that local history is too often considered as a mere appendage to general history; and when that is the case it is bound to be disorganized, disconnected and inadequate. It is a narrow view of local history that takes into account only those events that are of national importance.

On the other hand, there are those who see in local history only a chronicle of events that have, usually, little interest to anybody but those who participated in them, or their families. The sort of thing I have in mind may contain good historical material, but as we find it, it seldom has much value, especially in the schools; though it may be interesting to the antiquarian society. In Indianapolis it has been a subject of serious debate,

for example, whether the first actual settler in that locality was one George Pogue, who was afterward killed by the Indians, or the brothers McCormick. Each of these claimants has violent partisans. It is conceivable that something important might hinge on the correct solution of this problem. But as a matter of fact it is of no importance to any one, and of comparatively little interest to few, which way this question is settled.

The first idea that I wish to emphasize is that every community of whatever age or size, has a local history that is instructive. Each has its own life story which is full of vital interest and instruction, although from the viewpoint of general history it may have no apparent significance. The old proverb that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country" has its application to local history. It is a valuable lesson to learn that the homely things of everyday life, the familiar facts of local environment, have truths for us as significant as those of far-away places and remote times.

The first thing we in the schools need to do, to solve the problem of local history in the course of study, is *to find the proper point of view from which to approach the subject.*

The customary way of approach has been through the general course in United States history; or, we might say more properly, the only use we ordinarily find for local history is for the illumination of national history. It goes without saying that there is opportunity for local history in this connection—indeed, much greater opportunity than we commonly make use of. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the opportunity here is inadequate. In addition to the fact that the history of most communities rarely has a vital relation to the main current of general history as we study it in the public schools, the time limitations of the history work in the schools usually make it difficult to pause for what too often seems a digression in the field of local history. At any rate, I believe I am safe in saying that, as a matter of fact, very few history teachers make any *systematic and organized* use of local history.

Indeed, it might often be easier to weave a considerable body of national history into a background of local history, than it is to weave the local into the national; just as it is possible to

organize general history about the biography of some public man, when there would be little opportunity to introduce much of the life of the man into the general history of his times. Thus, it would be impossible to write the life of James G. Blaine without involving most of the important political events of his time; but a general history of Blaine's time would afford little space to his life. He would lose his identity in the general movement.

This suggests the possibility of introducing into the curriculum a specific course in local history. Such a course could be made to unfold the fundamental principles of historical development almost as well as any other course in history. It would contain the universal motives to human action; the universal geographical conditions and influences; the law of development from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous; the evolution of institutions to meet human needs. The fact that it deals with the near at hand and the familiar would tend to arouse a vital interest, as a study of the remote and unfamiliar does not. And it would afford opportunity, as already suggested, to weave in many phases of general history that would perhaps not be dealt with in the regular course in United States history.

But the introduction of a specific course in local history is open to two serious objections. The local history of most communities is not sufficiently varied and extensive to warrant spending much time on it as an end in itself; and the course of study is already subjected to the criticism of over-crowding.

It seems to me clear that local history in the schools must find its opportunity as a means to an end, rather than as an end in itself. We must find an economical way of utilizing it to further other ends in education, but of utilizing it in as systematic and coherent a manner as possible. I wish to offer a suggestion as to how this may be done, and I shall draw upon our experience in the public schools of Indianapolis.

First of all, let me say briefly that local history is furnishing the materials for some of the English work of the Junior year in Shortridge High School. In this case the word local applies to the entire State, and not merely to the locality of Indianapolis. The classes are doing creative work along the line of

dramatization, and they have been turned into the field of local history for the incidents to be reproduced. The work is under the direction of an able and enthusiastic teacher, and her aim is to have produced at the end of the year a pageant of Indiana history in simple dramatic form. The pupils are doing more industrious and enthusiastic work in local history that I have ever seen done in connection with an historical course, and they are doing it in order to get materials for a definite object.

Another illustration of the use of local history for other than historical ends may be taken from the lower grades—about the fourth grade, as I remember it. A few years ago one of our most skilful teachers of geography, Mrs. Ida Stearns Stickney, prepared for her own use in teaching local geography to young children a simple account of the founding and early years of Indianapolis, weaving into it well-selected descriptions of the geographical conditions, derived from the accounts of the early settlers themselves. The idea was to give to the children a vivid picture of the natural conditions of the land in their relations to the life of the people.

About the time that this local geographical work was well under way, a reorganization of the courses in the eighth grade and the first year of the high school occurred, and a course in elementary civics was introduced in the eighth grade. The nature of this course in civics will appear as we proceed, but its purpose is to develop in the child an understanding of the nature of community life, and a sense of his civic relations. This course was planned with definite reference to the use of local history to illustrate, in the simplest terms possible, the fundamental principles of community life. It was therefore suggested to Mrs. Stickney that she elaborate her account of early geographical conditions, telling the complete story of the first few years of the existence of Indianapolis, and emphasizing every important phase of community life as seen there. The result of her labors was the delightful little brochure, "Pioneer Indianapolis," which is now doing excellent service in the schools.

The literary merit of Mrs. Stickney's work was such (a thing unusual in local histories) that it was adopted as supplementary reading in the sixth grade. Thus, we now have in use in our

schools, as an aid to the work in geography, civics and reading, in the fourth, sixth and eighth grades, a coherent and well-organized history of a certain period of the growth of Indianapolis.

The influence of this little local history extends even farther than the schools. The idea interested the directors of the Indianapolis Commercial Club to such an extent that they shared the expense of its publication with the Board of School Commissioners, copies being distributed to all the 1,600 members of the club. It was published as the first number in a series of Civic Studies of Indianapolis, other numbers of which are to be historical, and some of which are in course of preparation, as, for example, "The Indianapolis Water Supply, Past and Present."

My chief purpose is to show how local history may be utilized as a means of civic instruction; and how, because of its usefulness in illuminating fundamental civic ideas, it may find its own opportunity for development in connection with a well-organized course in civics.

The one great function of the public school is to train for citizenship, which means, not merely the preparation of the youth for political activities, but the transformation of the individual into an efficient member of the community. And yet, in our work of education we fail to give enough attention to the real civic end, and to arouse in the children a consciousness of this end. We neglect to develop in the child the habit of thinking of himself as a member of a community, and the habit of acting with reference to community efficiency. The entire work of the school, and the entire organization of the school life, should contribute to the end of establishing in the mind of the child a consciousness of his civic relations in this broad sense. But there is need for specific instruction along this line; and this is the function of civics.

Our work in civics does not begin with an objective analysis of the machinery of government, abstracted from its relations to the community life; but it begins from the subjective standpoint of the child himself as a member of the community. The child is led to see that the community arrangements have been developed in order to aid him (and others) to satisfy their wants; he is led to see that certain of these arrangements, such as the

school, and especially government, have been evolved to meet his own needs by securing harmonious action, by preventing conflict of interests; step by step he is led to realize that that community is best to live in where the wants of each individual are most fully satisfied, and where there is as little conflict of interest as possible. The aim of civics is to impress the child with a sense of what the community does for him, and how it does it, and with a sense of his own responsibility to the community as a participator in its benefits and obligations.

I am aware that this is attributing to civics a broader scope than is customary; but I believe that this is right. For good citizenship is nothing more nor less than efficient membership in the community in the relationships of neighbor, of the family, of business, as well as in the political relationships. Government, however,—local, State and national,—is a unifying thread that runs throughout the entire course, and it is constantly brought into the foreground—but always in its proper perspective, and in its proper relations to the varied life of the community.

The first step in a course of civics of this kind is to try to develop in the child's mind a conception of the nature of community life and its relations. In order that the conception may be vivid, the child's study is directed, not to communities in the abstract, but to the particular community in which he lives. Reliance is placed largely upon direct observation and analysis of the concrete facts with which the child is familiar, working out from this to the less familiar and the general.

The opportunity for local history comes in this connection. The fully developed modern community is complex in the extreme, and it is not easy for the child to grasp its details of organization and function, or to understand his own relations to it. It becomes imperative to establish a sense of these relations with reference to a community of simpler form. This may be done in part by constantly using the class itself, or the school, or the family, as illustrations; for these social groups, especially the family, do possess the essential characteristics of the full-fledged community. We endeavor to keep the community idea prominent in the organization and conduct of our classes for this

purpose. But since the object of study is the larger community of which the child is a member, the problem is to present *its* relationships in a form simple enough for him to comprehend. This can be done by the use of local history.

In order to illustrate this idea, let us suppose that we have in Indianapolis an eighth grade class in civics. We have begun by an attempt to develop in the minds of the class a preliminary, but fairly clear, idea of the meaning of "community." It is brought out by discussion and by a consideration of various kinds of communities, that there must be first of all, of course, a group of people; that this group of people must occupy a common area of land, that is, have a common territory; that the group of people have come together in this common territory because of common interests; and that their conduct as a group is regulated by common laws which emanate from some form of government. The constant presence of these factors in community life is illustrated by the class, the school, the family, the neighborhood, the city, the State and the nation. It might be said that the word community is used in this course because of its elasticity, and its equal applicability to the nation or the city, the State or the neighborhood. But since we are a class in a city, we center our attention upon the idea of the city community, using the class, the school, the family and the neighborhood frequently by way of illustration, and broadening our view to include the State and the nation as we proceed—thus passing from the near to the distant, from the familiar to the unfamiliar.

One of the first lessons that we wish to learn is that the land is not merely a place where the community life goes on, but that it is a factor that enters vitally into the life of the community; that it in a measure determines the nature and course of the community life; that, as the community develops, the land becomes transformed; and that one of the functions of government is to aid the people to get proper control of the land. The extent of the present control of environment, and the extent to which it enters into our present life, is made more emphatic by contrast with the conditions of pioneer life; and so we send the children to *Pioneer Indianapolis*, where they read

such passages as this: "Yet with all these natural advantages, a corn crop was secured by a fighting chance only. There were other creatures interested. Wild turkeys scratched for it; woodpeckers took the sprouting plants; raccoons ate it on the ear; but the worst enemies were the squirrels." Or, again: "One reason for locating at this point was that it was nearer the center of the State than either of the other points [under consideration]. Another was that this point furnished the best location for boat landing. . . . ; and, as a further reason, Fall creek was on the east side [of the river] and was the stream upon which the mills were to be built, and the town and mills should be on the same side of the river." And, once more, in an advertisement of the first sale of lots in the new capital site: "It is situated on a high, dry, uninterrupted plain of several miles' extent, perfectly free from inundation, marshes and ponds. The site of the town and the surrounding country is in an eminent degree beautiful and fertile, and is probably the best body of land in the State. The plan of the town is calculated to insure the health, comfort and convenience of its inhabitants. . . . Good wholesome water may be had at the depth of twenty feet in any part of it in a sandy stratum."

The second factor in community life—the group of people—is taken up in a similar way for a preliminary study. In the course of our study we shall have to deal with the great group of people which constitutes the American nation, the group that makes up the population of the State of Indiana, and that of the city of Indianapolis. We shall have to consider the diverse elements that compose these groups, the process of transforming them into homogeneous communities, the influence of the various foreign elements, and the process of making citizens of them. But we begin with our own local community in its beginnings and try to understand the gathering together of diverse elements here, and the characteristics of the group resulting. We read, in *Pioneer Indianapolis*, that the people came mostly in family groups, and that they came from widely separated parts of the Union, bringing with them varying characteristics. Thus: "Christopher Ladd moved all the way from South Carolina on a sled." "Mrs. Nancy Forsythe traveled from Kentucky on

horseback, carrying a baby on her lap, who in turn carried the family cat." In 1821 Andrew Pierce walked to "the New Purchase from Pittsburgh." "In May, 1821, Col. Alexander W. Russell brought in a keel-boat with provisions from Frankfort, Ky. He descended the Kentucky and Ohio Rivers without trouble. The Wabash and White Rivers he ascended by what is called cordelling. . . . It took him six weeks to ascend these two rivers." In this connection the children gain an idea of early transportation; but this is developed more at length in a later connection.

It is then observed that the group of people who occupy the land together are engaged in a great variety of activities for the purpose of satisfying the different kinds of wants that all have in common. I wish I could take the time to make clear by illustration how this subject is brought before the children; but it must suffice to say that the purpose, at this stage of the course, is to get vividly before the pupils the *motives* of community life. They learn that there is a certain set of activities for the preservation of life and health; another set to satisfy the desire to own things (that men call wealth); another set to gratify the intellectual wants; and still other sets of activities to fulfill the desires for beauty, for right living (religion), and for sociability. The pupil learns not only that all activities of the community are traceable to these motives, but that all the *institutions* of community life, such as schools, banks, churches, railroads, streets, and government itself, have developed in order that these wants may be provided for.

The story of the pioneer community shows most interestingly the presence of all these interests, and it shows how they were the stimuli for the development of the various phases of the early community life; but it shows also how, under the hard conditions of pioneer life, isolated from civilization as it was, the several interests received only partial satisfaction. To watch the unfolding of the community from this standpoint is fascinating, and gives a conception of the nature of the community relations that can hardly be acquired in any other way.

In the story of pioneer life interest naturally centers in the family. This is because the life of the pioneer community is

largely a family life. Abundance of material is available, as will be seen farther on, to illustrate the important fact that the chief agency for providing for the wants of the individual in the beginnings of community life is the family. Health was looked after, industrial pursuits were carried on, education was provided, the esthetic, religious and social interests were satisfied, almost wholly by the family group. Even government itself was at first largely a matter of family life. And then it is easy to trace how, as the community grows, other special arrangements are developed to provide for the interests of the people with greater efficiency than the family could do alone. But the ultimate lesson to be emphasized is that, even under the complex conditions of modern life, the family remains one of the most powerful forces for good or evil in the community life. The family has been called "the school of all the virtues" that go to make good citizenship. "No matter how good the doctors" nor how efficient the board of health, "the health of the people in any community depends more on the family than on anything else. No matter how efficient the schools, a great responsibility rests on the family for the proper education of the children. No matter how many social organizations there may be in the community, the social life of the home is the most important of all and the most far-reaching in its results. No matter how excellent the government of a community may be, it can have little good result if proper government in the home is lacking."

Let us now suppose that we have passed the preliminary consideration of the elements of community life, such as have been suggested in this inadequate way. We have observed the importance of the land as a factor in community life. We have made a preliminary examination of the group of people—its composition, its origin, its growth, etc. We have looked into the motives of community life, and have gained a preliminary conception of how community life has been developed for the purpose of satisfying human wants. We have given considerable attention to the family as a little community which has important civic functions; and we have made clear the need for government, and its relation to the community life.

And now the next idea that we wish to make plain is, that in

order to assure the successful development of the community there must be permanent and definite relations established between the people and the land. This idea has already been suggested when we were studying the site of the community; but now we wish to develop it more systematically, and to introduce particularly the governmental functions in this respect. The topic includes, among other things, what the formal text-books call the "territorial functions" of government.

We may turn at once to local history as a means of approach to the subject. We may notice, first, the unsettled life of the Indians in our locality at the time of settlement. Their relations to the land they occupied were unsettled and indefinite, and so long as this was the case, the life of the Indian must of necessity be uncivilized. Every step that was taken by uncivilized man to establish more definite and permanent relations with the soil was a step in the direction of civilization.

Then, the children may read of the purchase of the land from the Indians by the national government (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, p. 6): "In 1818 our national government bought of the Indians the entire White river valley. The treaty, called the Treaty of St. Mary's, was made in Ohio at the head waters of White river. By its terms the Delawares would in three years again be forced to surrender their lands and become pilgrims. It is said that when the treaty was signed several of the chiefs wept. The government paid the Indians for their lands in annual payments. William Conner was the agent. He was strictly honest with them." A little color is put into the account by a description of the way the payments were made: "The Indians grouped themselves in families and the family groups sat in a circle on the prairie which surrounded Mr. Conner's home. The men were to be paid in dollars, the women in half-dollars, and the children in quarters. First all were given as many little sticks as they were to receive coins. As Mr. Conner passed around the circle handing out the coins the sticks were returned to him. When the sticks were gone the Indians knew that they had received all that was coming to them."

But the value of this episode is to help in explaining how our nation has acquired its territory by purchase and by con-

quest. Notice that it is the *national* government that made the purchase, and that the land became *public domain* to be controlled and organized by the national government.

After the acquisition of the territory, however, the work of actual settlement was carried on chiefly by family groups who, by establishing homes and beginning the exploitation of the natural resources, not only benefited themselves, but performed a service to the entire nation by fixing definite relations with the land. We read (p. 8): "They had no legal right as yet to the land, but it was generally understood that if a man built a cabin and blazed the trees around his land he would be permitted to enter the land in 1821, when the time of Indian occupation would expire. . . . Within a year settlers' cabins had risen on choicest sites over the whole valley." "The whole of central Indiana was then owned by the general government, unsurveyed, mostly unoccupied" (p. 16).

Incidents such as these are used, not only to illustrate the service of the family in establishing relations with the land, but also to show how the national government, in order to assure the families of their rights to the land, and also to secure the development of the public land, enacted various land laws, culminating in the Homestead Act. It also introduces the subject of the congressional survey which was undertaken for the same purposes; of course in this connection the method of the survey is explained, and maps of our own locality, showing the lines established, examined.

The function of the national government in organizing the public domain into territories for governmental purposes, the fixing of territorial and State boundaries, can be clearly shown by the history of the Northwest Territory, of its division into smaller territories, and of the final admission of these territories as States.

Indiana was admitted to the Union in 1816. The State needed land for its own uses as a seat of government. And so we read (p. 21): "When the Treaty of St. Mary's was made in 1818, the government gave to the State four square miles of the land of the New Purchase for the capital city, the location to be selected by the State. The State legislature chose ten commission-

ers and instructed them to select a site as near the center of the State as possible." General Tipton was a member of this commission, and we have his journal, a part of which is quoted in *Pioneer Indianapolis*, giving the details of the search for a suitable site.

The capital site having been chosen, it must be surveyed and divided into lots for homes, for business purposes, and for public buildings. This was done by the State government. "Mr. Alexander Ralston was appointed as one of the surveyors. He had assisted in laying off the city of Washington. Very much of the Washington plan entered into the plan for the capital of Indiana. The four square miles that had been given by the government for the city was deemed altogether too large; the plan as made included but one square mile. The rest of the land was known as "out lots," and was fenced in for pasture. The early settlers called the square mile the "Corporation" and the four square miles the "Donation" (p. 26). In connection with this account the pupils examine maps of the original survey. One of the early settlers said: "I remember well the surveyors showing the diagram of the town to my father. I remember how the talented old Scotchman dilated upon the future of the capital in the woods. He remarked that should ever half of the survey be improved, what a beautiful town it would make."

I can not refrain from reading the following statement about Mr. Ralston from the pages of *Pioneer Indianapolis*, not only because it illustrates how important the work of surveying the land was considered by the people of the community, but because it also illustrates how local color is added to the work we are doing, how we endeavor to make the children acquainted with the builders of our own community, and how we emphasize the value of community service by means of local biographical sketches: "Most of the pioneers have felt that we have not yet paid our debt to Alexander Ralston. Mr. Ralston lived and died in this city; he was buried in the old cemetery. Mr. Samuel Merrill, in 1827, edited *The Journal*. He urged the people at that time to remember that Mr. Ralston in the beginning had asked for the reservation of land for a spacious park." Another old settler writes: "I was four years of age; I often saw Mr. Rals-

ton. I remember him as a venerable and refined looking man, with fine silky gray hair that flowed in profusion over his shoulders. . . . An incident told me by my mother attests his benevolent disposition. In the winter of 1821-'22 the cold was exceedingly severe. . . . All the streams were frozen solid, so that the cows and other beasts could not obtain water. Each morning during this severe weather Mr. Ralston would be seen at his well drawing water for his neighbors' cattle. This being done he would go into his house and obtain a supply of corn and bread, which he would scatter to the birds that came by hundreds around his dwelling."

The land having been surveyed, preparation was made for the sale of lots. The sale was advertised in the *Indiana Sentinel*, published at Vincennes.

"At last the ninth day of October came. It was a bleak, desolate day. The one-horse wagon of Mr. James Blake was backed up against the window of the cabin to be used as an office. Old Tommy Carter soon mounted the wagon as auctioneer. . . . James M. Ray was clerk of the sale. . . . The sale continued one week. There was not the least disturbance of any kind. Their money was almost entirely gold and silver, and was left in leather bags wherever they could procure shelter, and was considered as safe as it would be now in the vaults of our banks. . . . The highest price paid for a lot was five hundred dollars. . . . This was an uptown lot . . . and was the choice lot because opposite the proposed site for the court-house. The average price paid for lots was one hundred thirteen dollars. The 'out lots,' now the residence portion of the city, with many business centers, sold for ten, twenty and thirty dollars. . . . The constant arrival of people, the laying out of the town, and the sale of lots, brought new life, and the people went to work with fresh courage to turn the wilderness into a place for comfortable living."

Another set of relations between the people and the land is established for political purposes. Thus: "The settled parts of the State were organized into counties, as in other States, chiefly for judicial purposes. Previous to 1821 the New Purchase was all a part of one enormous county, Delaware county, with the

county seat at Connersville, sixty miles from Indianapolis. To this distant place the citizens of Indianapolis went if for any reason they had to appear before the court. In 1821 the citizens of the settlement held a public meeting in Hawkins's Tavern to consider the matter of organizing a county. Two citizens were appointed to attend the legislature at Corydon and petition for the organization. On December 31 the act was passed, and the erection of a court-house provided for in the court-house square. . . . At first Johnson, Hamilton, and a large part of Boone, Madison and Hancock counties, were attached to Marion county for judicial purposes. . . .

"The county commissioners proceeded to divide the county into thirteen townships, four of which afterward went into other counties. Magistrates were elected for each of the townships, and constables were appointed. The commissioners also authorized the building of roads, etc.

"Down to 1832 the little community of Indianapolis had no separate organization for local government apart from the county and State governments. . . . But in September of 1832 a public meeting was held in the court-house to consider the incorporation of the town under an act of the legislature. The incorporation took place. Five trustees were elected, and five wards created, as follows" [boundaries given]. (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, pp. 64-66.)

But the government has done a great deal more to establish permanent and definite relations between the people and the land besides making land laws, surveying the public lands, and organizing territorial divisions for political purposes. It has aided the people to get control of the natural resources; it has drained swamps and preserved forests; it has protected against floods by the building of levees; it has built roads; it has set aside land for parks, schools and public buildings; it has granted franchises to corporations for the use of public property; it controls the use of private property for the public good; it has exercised the right of eminent domain. These are tremendously important functions of government, and are sometimes exercised by the national, sometimes by the State, and sometimes

by the various forms of local government. More or less important illustrations of all these points may be drawn from the local history of our own community.

From this point in our course the method of procedure is to take up the several interests with which the pupils are now familiar and to show how community life takes these interests into account, how the organization of the community is planned with reference to them, and how government is related to these interests of the individual and of the community as a whole. I can only give a partial idea of the development of this part of the course.

1. *Physical Interests.* The aim under this topic is to make a lasting impression on the child regarding the importance of public health, the peculiar necessity for watchfulness against dangers to health under the conditions of modern life, especially in cities, the dependence of the individual upon others for his physical welfare; the responsibility of each individual for the public health; and the mechanism of the community, including government, that has been developed for the protection of the public health. This is a rich field and one that easily interests the children. But the magnitude of the work done by the community with reference to health is made much more impressive by showing the origin and development both of the peculiar dangers of modern life and of the means of protection. The importance of the subject from the community standpoint may be introduced by the following: "In the summer [of 1822] the work of surveying . . . was interrupted by the visitation of a strange sickness that brought great suffering and almost starvation to the settlers. There was an epidemic, and very few escaped. Often there were not enough that were well to care for those that were sick, and many were entirely without provisions. Those that had, shared with those that had not; and they cared for one another with a devotion that bound them together as one family. [Note unorganized, unspecialized co-operation.]

"The sickness was not confined to Indianapolis, but extended to all parts of the forest region. In Indianapolis alone there

were seventy-two deaths (one-eighth of the population Each year the sickness returned during the month of July or August, but never again in such a fatal form. When the frosts of October came it would cease. It was called at first the autumnal sickness, and was dreaded as a pestilence. In two months of every summer little labor could be performed. From twenty to forty years, according to location, it continued and defied the skill of the physicians. The popular name for it in later years was "chills and fever" or "fever and ague." It is well that we should know the great sacrifice of the pioneers and the bitter cost to them of the beautiful conditions that we enjoy here to-day.

"The growth of the town was interrupted and its reputation suffered. Many people came, but as many others passed through to the prairie settlements. David Turpe says the cause of the sickness was the turning up of too much fresh and fever-laden soil. Mr. Holloway gives this explanation of the sickness: 'The dense forests sheltered the soil from the sun, and, compelling it to retain its moisture, the broad and swampy bottoms, the marshes and the frequent freshets made this the very home of chills and fever.' It was not known in those days that malaria is carried from marshes and pools of water by mosquitoes. The soil was everywhere wet; there was much decay of leaves in the forest, and too little opportunity for the sun to do its work of evaporation and germ-killing. The gradual clearing of the wet lands, and the use of drainage tiles in later years, proved the remedy, and now a case of fever and ague is almost unknown."

"The people, many of them, were too poor to pay the doctors. They (the doctors) would wear themselves out in pulling through the almost impassable roads and all for the charge of fifty cents and the price of medicines." (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, pp. 30 ff.)

"Our town, like all newly settled places, requires seasoning before a person can be strictly healthy."

Later we read that in 1832 the town was incorporated, and in 1836 and 1838 new incorporation acts were passed. With the

department of government we read of the establishment of under-drainage, and of other organized measures for the protection of health, accompanied by a discussion of the "autumnal fever."

I have referred to the history of the Indianapolis water supply and to civic preparation. This naturally includes a discussion of certain phases of sanitary history, and will be of great use in connection with the study of public health. On the basis of this historical preparation, the pupils take great interest in the observation and analysis of present health conditions and the means of health protection. In order to indicate the possible effect of this work done, I may say that last winter the discussion of this topic of public health in the eighth grade classrooms led directly to a movement, participated in by the civic organizations of our city, and with the active cooperation of the proper government officials and the street railway company, that resulted in a thorough cleaning up of the street-cars and the sidewalks.

2. *Economic Interests.* Only this morning I read, in a review of Lincoln Steffens' book, "The Struggle for Self-Government": "If it is true, as is so stoutly contended, that morals in commerce and industry are low, this condition is certain to affect politics, because of the intimate relations of government to business. Permanently higher standards in public life must obviously be accompanied with higher standards in business life." It is a legitimate function of civics in the public schools, indeed a most important function, to cultivate in our pupils a proper conception of the civic aspects of business life. Again it is impossible at this time to enter into the method of doing this; but it may be said that it is not to be accomplished by mere moral precept, but rather by making the community relations of business life a living thing in the minds of the pupils. The modern structure of the business world is complex, and its relations to government difficult to understand. But the fundamental principles of industrial organization, and its relations to the life of the community, together with the function and machinery of government for regulating it, may be clarified to a

large extent by a judicious use of illustrations from local history. For example, the following quotations from *Pioneer Indiana* is

"The men were most of them poor, very few having money enough to enter a section of land at once; yet they did not come so much to acquire wealth as to establish homes." p. 8

"In November, 1821, William McLanghlin and family encamped on a quarter section three miles southeast of Indianapolis. When they arrived they had just five dollars in cash with which to support a large family. . . . Mrs. McLanghlin sent her most valuable coverlet to help pay for the corn." "Like the settlers of Plymouth these western Pilgrims were sustained during their first months of hardship by the Indian corn. One pioneer goes so far as to say that he does not see how Indiana could have been settled at the time it was but for the corn." "The pioneers represented the trades and professions, yet all were farmers here in the beginning and the first crop was corn." p. 11.

"Give the pioneer farmer an axe and an anvil, or in lieu of the last a burning iron, and he could make almost any machine he was wont to work with. With his sharp axe he could not only cut the logs for his cabin and notch them down, but he could make a close-fitting door and supply it with wooden hinges and a neat latch. From the roots of an oak or ash he could fashion his hames and sled-runners, make an axle-tree for his wagon, make a rake, a flax-brake, a barrow, a scythe-snath, a grain cradle, a pitchfork, a loom, a reel, a washboard, a stool, a chair, a table, a bedstead, a dresser and a cradle in which to rock the baby. If he was more than ordinarily clever he repaired his own cooperage, and adding a drawing knife to his kit of tools, he even went so far as to make his own casks, tubs and buckets. He made and mended his own shoes" p. 11.

"There being no mills to grind the corn into meal, the settlers substituted what was known as lye hominy, and a kind of meal made by pounding the corn in what were called mortars. . . . Mr. Bush, who was a Vermonter, and who had brought with him quite a variety of tools, procured from White river some stones, out of which he made two small millstones, and then prepared the necessary woodwork for putting the same in running

... and raised the mill up to a hackberry tree on the west bank of the river, the motive power being a long beam operated by horse-power, a two-mile rope being used for belting.

In 1811 was changed at this mill. All that was required was that each person should furnish his own horse. This was the first mill built in "The New Purchase" (p. 17-18).

... as close as possible from Whitewater, for the ... single yard of coarse cotton cloth ... and a basket of salt, two and one-half dollars. ... and what they had, except the big ... was Spanish or Mexican money. One settler who ... from the village said that he worked ... all night hunting raccoons, for ... Most of the business was ...

... and ... makers and blacksmiths belonged to every town. Industries were widely distributed. ... the power of every running ... miller was ... to accommodate ... The village merchant ... goods and groceries. The countryman found ... his stuff. The village shoemaker was Sir

... who visited for cobbling or to be measured for a new pair of shoes. In those days food was home grown. Beef and pork were home cured and clothing home spun. The ... which most of us wore came from the skilful ... who also spun the wool from the ... John Manly, which was afterward sent to ... by Billy Smith, the weaver" (p. 33).

The ... in February, 1822, said that improvement had ... residences and several workshops had ... and two sawmills were in operation, and ... There were thirteen carpenters, four ... four shoemakers, two tailors, ... one cooper, four bricklayers, ... three doctors, three lawyers, one ... and seven tavern keepers" (p. 41).

These quotations, selected from many, give an idea of the beginnings of economic life, the division of labor, cooperation, etc. The subject of transportation and communication is closely related to the economic life of the community. The following quotations suggest its importance:

"In nothing else," says Judge Banta, "is there a more marked change than in the condition of the roads. The old jest of the stage-coach passenger walking and carrying a fence-rail to pry the vehicle out of the mud-holes, had its foundation in fact" (p. 9). "In the village gradual improvement was taking place. The old forest trails were being changed into roads, very muddy, to be sure, and full of stumps, but they made a beginning" (p. 36). "The streets, little used, were filled with brush. . . . The first roads to the outskirts were county roads. . . . The legislature appropriated one hundred thousand dollars for roads in 1822" (p. 41). We also read of the attempt to prove the White river navigable, and of the act of legislature declaring nearly every stream in Indiana navigable; and finally, "The modern period of our community's growth may be said to have begun in 1847. In that year the first railway reached the community, connecting it with the outside world, and introducing it to the spirit of modern life. In that year, also, Indianapolis entered the city stage of government" (p. 66).

In this same connection the following extract has an interest: "One very constant source of trouble in the settlement was the lack of postal facilities. Connersville for two years had to be depended on for communication with the outside world; it was the nearest post-office, and sixty miles away. During the season of muddy roads, which was nine months in the year, it took three or four days to get through. . . . At first (letters) reached the settlers here in a very roundabout way, being brought by any one who lived on the road, and passed along from cabin to cabin, but a meeting of citizens, held in Hawkins's Tavern, resulted in their employing a private carrier. . . . He came galloping into the village usually at nightfall, the sound of his horn beginning to echo through the woods as soon as he reached Pogue's run, and all the people

would rush out to meet him and hear the news. . . . In 1822 President Monroe gave the town a post-master. . . . The mails were carried on horseback until the days of the stage-coach" (p. 39).

The functions of our governments in protecting property, in regulating commerce and industry, in the building of roads, in establishing and regulating means of communication, are developed in the light of such facts as the preceding.

3. The intellectual interests of the early community and their satisfaction can be illustrated by many extracts. The following will suffice:

"In that most interesting book on pioneer days, 'Sketches of My Own Times,' Mr. Turpie gives a pretty picture of his lesson days. Mr. Turpie did not live in Indianapolis, but pioneer life was about the same all over The New Purchase:

"There was but one schoolhouse in the settlement; it was used only in winter; it was four or five miles from our place. The weather was cold and the way too long. Children were taught the rudiments of learning at home. Thursday and Saturday were lesson days in the afternoon. My mother sat at the end of the table; we at the sides. We learned to read, to write, and to cipher as far as long division. The pens were made of goose or turkey quills, the ink from walnut hulls; it was dark brown, had a good flow, and our work was quite legible.

"Those of us who were old enough, read in turn from some book in my father's collection. He had about thirty books—a large library for the time and place. Among these were—*Pilgrim's Progress*, *A History of the United States*, *Weems's Life of Washington*, *The Life of Marion*, *Hume's English History*, *Cowper's Poems*, and *Robinson Crusoe*. The exercise lasted about three hours. My mother was an excellent teacher; we all made fair progress, anxious to please her. On Sunday we read from the Bible in the same manner, either the Old or New Testament. She accompanied the reading with explanations, and afterwards asked questions to test the children. Sometimes the children from a neighbor's house

would join us in these Scripture readings and so will return their visit.'

"About where Kentucky Avenue crosses Illinois Street and near a pond, a log schoolhouse was built during the war years. It was used for church services on Sunday and also as an assembly room. Mr. Reed taught the first quarter. The next year arrangements were made for a permanent school and Mr. Fletcher was chosen as one of the first trustees. The construction of a similar schoolhouse will give an idea of the schoolroom of pioneer days in *The New Purchase*. It was made of logs, about twenty feet square with a fireplace in one end eight feet wide. The outside was a frame of fir supported by logs. On an appointed day the neighbors all assembled to make of it into a schoolhouse. One log was cut out of the end and four little sticks were fastened across at intervals and then green paper fastened on instead of glass. A door was cut in the end, then the splinters were shaved from a punker and four wooden pins were fastened in the wall and the punker laid in them and fastened down for a writing desk. The seats were made of saplings about eight inches in diameter split and wooden legs fastened in. On the morning that school opened the parents came with their children from all directions, finding paths and blazing trees as guides for the children, some of them having as far as three miles to come to school."

"There were no blackboards, nor was there light enough to see the writing had there been any. It was very fortunate for the health of the children that the school term lasted only about twelve weeks. Sometimes they had good teachers, sometimes poor ones, and occasionally they could get none at all."

"They learned a little in the schoolroom, but these pioneer children received most of their education in the great out-of-door school, at work with their parents, or playing with their companions in forest and by stream. They grew strong and straight and tall like the Indians; and, like them, their eyes were quick to see, their ears eager to listen, and their hands ready to do. There was plenty of arithmetic, manual training, and physical culture for the boys in the work they did with their

fathers, building and plastering cabins, making furniture, rolling and hauling logs, chopping wood, deadening and cutting down trees, splitting rails, making fences and roads, plowing the fields, weighing and curing the meats, tanning the leather, measuring the corn, planning a wagon, carving horn, and whittling toys.

"The girls learned as much with their mothers in helping to do the spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting and cooking; in dipping the candles, braiding the mats and hats, picking the geese, sunning the feathers and furs, caring for the garden, hunting the eggs, feeding the chickens, calves, and young lambs, making the butter and cheese, cutting and sewing the rags for the carpet, gathering the herbs, and picking the berries. You see the parents were the teachers and the children were educated through work. In washing and shearing the sheep, driving and milking the cows, planting and harvesting the crops, in climbing the trees for nuts and fruits, in feeding the stock, trapping the game, catching the fish, gathering the honey, making the sugar and picking the apples, in studying the sky for the weather, in searching the river banks for relics and shells, and in driving the cows through the wooded paths, they gained so much knowledge about soils and stones, plants and trees, birds and animals, and moon and stars, that they have been teaching us ever since through books they wrote." (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, pp. 44-48.)

In the light of these facts our present educational system derives new significance, and we have a new point of view from which to approach the subject of the civic value of education, and the work of local, State and national government for the education of the people.

4. Esthetic Interests. We are still too busy in America, apparently, to give much systematic attention to civic beauty. And yet this is one phase of community life that is extremely important and, fortunately, is receiving more and more attention in our cities as time goes on. It is one of the interests that need cultivation. It is not surprising to find that in the hard conditions of pioneer life little positive attention seems to be given to the subject, and government is seldom recorded as having

done anything for the esthetic interests of the people until comparatively recently. Nevertheless, we find the esthetic interests present even in the early days. Thus, we read that "every cabin had a garden which sun and soil gave over to luxuriance. The rivermen had brought from the south the seeds of a strange plant—the love-apple, or tomato, and it was grown in these gardens as a curiosity, and used for decoration; it was never eaten."

5 and 6. Religious and Social Interests. I shall not take time to dwell upon these, nor to read extracts from *Pioneer Indianapolis* to show how prominent these interests were in the early days. Illustrations could be found in great abundance.

Having now carried the pupil through a course of training in the fundamental principles of community life in its varied phases, and having led him to see how the citizen is brought in contact with government in every phase of this life, and how government—local, State and national—operates to the end of securing fullness of life on the part of every citizen, our course in civics concludes with a discussion of how the people govern themselves, of successes and failures of our system of self-government, and of a more or less detailed, though elementary, analysis of the governmental machinery—local, State and national.

In this connection, again, local as well as general history assists us greatly to an understanding of the nature and organization of government, and of the reasons underlying our American system of division of powers. We are now planning the preparation of some special brochures to assist us on this side of our work. For example, we hope to have in a short time, a complete but simple history of the development of the Indianapolis city government.

In concluding my paper, allow me to say that I greatly fear that I may have left some false impressions with you. My own personal interest is primarily in the problem of civics in the public schools, rather than in local history as an end in itself. I wish, therefore, that I might have left with you a more coherent and complete notion of the plan of civics work that I am es-

THE LOCAL HISTORY OF THE FUTURE

I have not only failed to give you a positively definite impression of the value of this line. As I have said, the impression is likely to be left that the material woven into a substantial part of the course. This is not the case. The local history is not only illustrative material to interest the student in the principles of civic life. Our classes are to be the observation and analysis of present conditions.

It is not my purpose has not been to discuss the subject of local history and that I have gone into the subject at all only because it has been necessary in order to make clear my claim that in connection with civics we may find a most appropriate and effective use for local history as a means to an end; and that, because of its utility in this connection, local history thus finds its own opportunity for a more systematic and organized treatment than it can well receive in any other connection in the course of study.

CYRUS WILBURN HODGIN

CYRUS WILBURN HODGIN was born February 12, 1841 in Randolph county, Indiana. His parents were Friends who emigrated from North Carolina because of the slavery system of the South. His father was an Abolitionist, and would pay willingly, though a poor man, two or three prices for an article, rather than buy the cheaper, equally good, but made by the labor of slaves. This willingness to make personal sacrifice to maintain a principle was transmitted to the son. Professor Hodgin's ancestry on his father's side was English and Welsh, and on his mother's, Holland Dutch and Irish. His mother taught school before her marriage, and he on learning this, at the age of six or seven, determined that he would be a teacher, too. This determination was never shaken, though his father offered him a small farm, if he would cultivate it. A friend offered him a remunerative position in a bank with the opportunity of becoming a partner, and like offers were declined.

Up to the age of fifteen years, his educational opportunities were very limited. At this time, he entered Whitewater Academy, a Friends' school at Richmond, taught by Hiram Hadley, a teacher of more than ordinary energy and success. At nineteen, he became an assistant in this school. In the autumn of 1864, he entered the Illinois State Normal University at Bloomington, that being the nearest school of the kind. This step was taken in the feeling of the need for better preparation for the responsibilities of the teacher's work. Here, by teaching classes in the model school, and by manual labor out of school, he paid the greater part of his expenses through the three years' course of study, graduating in 1867. In the autumn of the same year, he was married to a classmate, Miss E. Caroline Chandler, of Williamsport, Indiana. The next two years were spent in teaching, in Richmond, Indiana, the greater part of the time as principal of the high school. The three years following, he was

principal of a township graded school in Henry county. In the fall of 1872, he was called to the Indiana State Normal School, but recently opened at Terre Haute, and there he remained nine years, at the head of the Department of History and Civil Government. By his work in county institutes throughout the State, he did much to popularize the work of the normal school and to bring to it earnest young men and women, for better preparation for their life work. He was actively engaged in county teachers' institute work for more than twenty-five years.

In 1881 he resigned his position in the State Normal School, and after a year's rest, was elected superintendent of the city schools at Rushville, Indiana. The next year, he took charge of the Richmond Normal School, and continued his work here until 1885, when he accepted the position of professor of history and political economy in Earlham College, which position he held until the time of his death.

Professor Hodgins was, for many years, identified with work in temperance reform, writing and speaking much in its behalf. He was also actively engaged in the work of promoting international peace and arbitration.

As an author, in 1880, he published "An Outline of a Course of Study in United States History," in 1891, as a supplement to *United States History*, "Outline of Civil Government in Indiana," in 1893, "Indiana and the Nation," 1893, "A Study of the American Commonwealth," joint editor with Professor Woodburn, of the State University; in 1897, "Sketch of the History of Indiana," for Lossing's Encyclopedia of United States History. For a number of years, he had been looking forward to the writing of a history of Indiana, but this work he was not privileged to complete. He has been a frequent contributor to the *Indiana School Journal*, and some other educational papers.

Professor Hodgins was, for a long time, identified with the work of the Indiana State Teachers' Association, the Indiana Historical Society, the Indiana History Teachers' Association, the Indiana Historical Society, the National Educational Association, and the American Historical Association. He was also one of the mainstays of the Indiana Historical Association.

the Wayne County Historical Society, of which he was president.

He believed that instruction in history should not only inform the intellect of the student, but that it should inspire, strengthen and purify his life. In his death, the historical interests of Indiana have lost one of their best counselors and guides, and the State of Indiana one of her noble citizens.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

CHARLES B. LASSELLE

THE death of Judge Lasselle removes from the State one who has been in many respects closely connected with its history. His long life lacks but little of spanning the period during which Indiana has been a State in the Union. He has not only held important public positions, but has always interested himself in the record of what others have done. His historical collection, which now passes into the possession of the State Library by purchase from the executors of the estate, and concerning which a notice appears on another page of this magazine, is one of the most valuable in the State. An article written by Judge Lasselle some time ago appeared in the June number of this year.

The following account is taken from *The Daily Tribune* of Logansport, Tuesday, September 29, and the *Logansport Semi-Weekly Report* of Wednesday, September 30:

C. B. Lasselle, veteran attorney and probate commissioner, died at the St. Joseph Hospital, Sunday evening, September 27, where he had been confined as a patient for more than two years. Deceased was eighty-nine years of age, and his protracted illness was due to old age. Mr. Lasselle left few relatives and practically no estate, although he was at one time wealthy.

Charles B. Lasselle was born at Vincennes, October 12, 1819, and was a descendant from the old stock of French pioneers who

explored and settled the Wabash valley. His paternal ancestors emigrated from Paris, about the year 1680, and settled in Canada, where they remained for nearly a century. His father was born at Kekionga (at the present site of Ft. Wayne) in 1777 and is said to have been the first white child born in the State north of Vincennes. His mother was the daughter of Francis Bosseron, of Revolutionary fame, who was afterward of considerable prominence in the War of 1812.

In 1833, Mr. Lasselle, with his parents, moved from Vincennes to Cass county, settling on the north side of the Wabash river, three miles from the city, later becoming residents of the town. During the spring and fall of 1833 he attended school in the old seminary, then the only school north of the Wabash in the State. In 1836 he attended Indiana University at Bloomington, and stayed until 1839, when he began the study of law with the late D. D. Pratt. In 1842 he was admitted to the bar. In 1847 he was elected prosecuting attorney. Closing his term three years later, he became editor of the *Logansport Telegraph*, a weekly paper. In 1862 he was elected over Mr. Pratt to the State legislature and was re-elected at the end of his term. In 1868 he was elected State Senator and resigned twice, being re-elected each time.

In the early eighties Mr. Lasselle was elected mayor of Logansport. He was appointed probate commissioner of the court, which carried but a small salary, in order that the veteran lawyer might have this little income. When he became infirm and unable to look after the duties of his office, they were taken up by Judge John S. Lairy, and the salary of \$400 a year ever since his confinement in the hospital has been drawn by Judge Lairy and turned over to the sisters of the hospital.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
Published by the Indiana Historical Society
CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Illinois Historical Collections, Volume III, constituting the first volume of the Lincoln Series, gives a good occasion for a description of some of the historical work now being done in our neighboring State. This volume, edited by Dr. E. E. Sparks, now president of Pennsylvania State College, sometime professor of American history in the University of Chicago, is one of the most timely and most generally useful publications ever published by an historical organization in the middle west. It contains the full text of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, carefully edited, and in addition copious illustrative material and newspaper comments taken from the most important papers of the time. The series to which it belongs is being published by the trustees of the State Historical Library by means of an appropriation from the State.

It is only about nine years since work of this sort was begun in a serious way in Illinois. At that time the publications of the State Historical Library began, and from the same time dates the organization of the State Historical Society. The first volume of the Illinois Historical Collections, the title under which the larger and more important publications are issued, was gotten out in 1903. In addition to this series the State Historical Library now publishes an annual volume of Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, periodical Bulletins of the Historical Library, and Journals of the Historical Society.

In Illinois a somewhat peculiar dual organization exists. The State Historical Library (which, it should be said, is entirely separate and distinct from the State Library), is a creature of the State, furnished with quarters in the capitol, maintained

entirely by appropriations from the State Legislature, and controlled by a State board of trustees. It gets out all the publications of the State Historical Society. The latter is a purely voluntary organization with a membership of about seven hundred, the fee being one dollar, officered by a president, three vice-presidents, a secretary-treasurer, and fifteen directors, all elected by the members at the annual meeting. As the government of Illinois gives no State aid to private organizations of this sort, there is no organic union between the Society and the Library. But the librarian, or secretary-treasurer of the Library, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, is also the secretary-treasurer of the Society, and the Library uses a considerable part of its funds in the publications of the Society, issued in the name of the Library.

One of the most interesting features of the historical movement in Illinois is the growth of local societies. One of these, the Chicago Historical Society, of which the late Edward G. Mason was a well-known member, is a substantial and permanent organization of long standing, having a good library building and invested funds of more than three hundred thousand dollars. The German-American Historical Society, also of Chicago, is another active organization, publishing a quarterly devoted to the work the above name indicates. A strong effort is now being made by the State organization to advance the development of county societies. This has been so far successful that in 1907 there were in Illinois twenty county historical societies and four other organizations doing the work of county historical societies. Some of these are active and well established, others are intermittent in their efforts and their meetings, and some are probably moribund. A slight official connection between them and the State Historical Society is maintained in the provision that the presidents of local historical societies shall be honorary vice-presidents of that organization. We in Indiana should follow with interest this attempt to extend and popularize the study of local history and the preservation of historical material.

papers, beginning with the *Pottawatomie Times*, the first paper published in that region. There are other local newspapers, a number of valuable pamphlets, and many old books. There is also supposed to be practically a complete set of the Acts of the Indiana State Legislature, together with several interesting historical relics.

It will be some time before the materials can be inspected and classified sufficiently to give a definite idea of everything.

It is hoped, with this collection as a nucleus, that the Indiana State Library will be able to add rapidly to its collection of Indiana manuscript material.

MEETING OF OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The second annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held at Marietta, Ohio, on November 27 and 28. Especial interest attached to the meeting because of the historical associations of the meeting place. There was a good attendance of representatives from the several States of the Ohio Valley. The Friday morning session was devoted to a discussion of Historical Manuscript Collections, and methods of locating and indexing them. The result of this discussion was the appointment of a committee to locate and index such manuscript collections.

Friday afternoon there was a general public meeting, at which addresses were given by Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, on "The Relation Between Geography and History;" Dr. W. J. Holland, of Pittsburg, on "Historic Beginnings of the Ohio Valley;" Colonel John L. Vance, of Columbus, on "The Ohio River, Its Improvement and Commercial Importance;" and Vergil A. Lewis, of Charleston, West Virginia, on "Lord Dunmore's War." At the close of this session a reception was given for the delegates in the Ohio Company's Land Office, the oldest building in Ohio, and containing a collection of historical relics pertaining to the first settlement of Ohio.

On Friday evening a banquet was given at the Y. M. C. A. building, at which the principal address was made by President S. C. Mitchell, of the University of California. Dr. Mitchell made an impression on his audience for the keenness of his insight into the problems of the South, and by his extreme justness in han-

dling these problems. Professor T. C. Greve, of the Cincinnati Law School, was toastmaster.

On Saturday morning Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, of Indianapolis, read a paper on "The Civic Value of Local History," which was discussed by former city auditor W. G. Collins, of Cincinnati, and by Professor Henry R. Spencer, of Ohio State University. Miss May Lowe, of Circleville, Ohio, was to have read a paper on "The Present Status of Local History in the Schools," but in her absence an abstract of her paper was presented by the secretary. The paper will appear in the published proceedings.

A business session followed, at which the election of officers was held. Professor T. C. Greve, of Cincinnati, was elected president; vice-presidents, W. W. Longmore, of Kentucky; Vergil Lewis, of West Virginia; A. W. Dunn, of Indiana, and Professor Elson, of Ohio; secretary and treasurer, Professor I. J. Cox, of Cincinnati; recording secretary and curator, Professor A. B. Hulbert, of Marietta College. A committee was appointed to investigate and report on the teaching of local history in the schools, and also one to investigate the location and indexing of manuscripts.

The Saturday afternoon session was devoted to three papers: "Braddock's Road," by Henry W. Temple, of Washington and Jefferson College; "Zane's Trace," by C. L. Martzollf, of Ohio University; and "The Old Maysville Road," by Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Kentucky. In Mr. Wilson's absence, his paper was read for him by H. B. Mackoy, of Covington, Kentucky.

The choice of a place of meeting for next year was left with the executive committee. Invitations were extended by the representatives of a number of cities, but the meeting will probably go to Frankfort, Kentucky.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

TRUE INDIAN STORIES.

[By Jacob Piatt Dun. Illustrated. 320 pages. 1908. Sentinel Printing Company, Indianapolis. \$1.00.]

Mr. Dunn's latest work upon Indiana consists of two distinct parts which do not necessarily belong together, the first 252

pages being given to the narration of incidents in Indiana history in which Indians figure prominently, and the last 67 pages being an "Index Glossary of Indiana Indian Names." The stories include a life of Little Turtle, the murder of the Indian witches, the story of Tecumseh, the battle of Tippecanoe, William Wells, the defense of Fort Harrison, the Pigeon Roost massacre, the service of the Indian Logan in saving Ft. Wayne in 1812, the Walam Olum, the murder of the Indians at Pendleton, Frances Slocum and the removal of the last of the Potawatomies. These stories have appeared in the *Indianapolis News* during the last year or so and have been previously noticed in this magazine. They are interestingly told, and taken together give not only an impressive recital of individual exploits but illustrate admirably the leading traits of the Indians in their relations with the white men,—cunning and bravery in battle, childlike incompetence in the economic struggle for existence, blunt stoicism when face to face with suffering and death. Mr. Dunn could not have taken a better way to tell this chapter of our early history.

Much interest attaches also to the list of Indian names given at different times to places and rivers in Indiana. The retention of Indian names for our cities and rivers might well have been carried to a greater extent than it was. The restoration of such names, long displaced by English translations or substitutes, has occasionally been effected in Indiana, and is, in my opinion, to be heartily encouraged wherever possible. In some instances the phonetic advantage would perhaps be doubtful, as in the case of the name of Fall Creek sometimes applied by the Indians to Indianapolis, Chanktunoongi. But almost anything would be preferable to the lack of imagination shown by the recurrence of such names as Greenfield, Greenbrier, Greencastle, Greene Center, Greenhill, Green Mound, Greenoak, Green Spring, Greentown, Greenville, Greenwood (there times repeated in Indiana), or Brown, Brownsburg, Brownstown, Browns Valley, Brownsville. One of the best sounding Indian names in the State was Wah-pi-kah-me-ki which ought never to have been surrendered for its equivalent, White River.

The effort to get the original meaning of Indian names, however, is a different matter. It is at best an antiquarian and etymological task of great difficulty and of little value. In most cases the explanations given by surviving Indians of this and the two or three preceding generations seem to a layman, even when plausible, to be entitled to little credence. And the present form of Indian names that have been preserved and whose derivation is often known, is so corrupted that the Indians themselves would not recognize it. If any one among us, however, is able to trace these names in their devious windings, Mr. Dunn is the man, and since he has the patience to do it we would do well to take the utmost advantage of his results. C. B. COLEMAN.

INDIANA IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

[By Oran Perry, Adjutant-General of Indiana. Illustrated. State Printer.]

Compilations are not usually attractive as literature. While this volume was not written to please, we venture the assertion that no single piece of historical work of more value has been done in the State for a long time. There is no attempt to pass judgment upon the facts, but merely to collect the material. The work is impartially done. Mr. Perry has gone carefully over the newspapers of the period,—the *Indiana Sentinel*, *Madison Courier*, *State Journal*, *Indiana Journal* and *New Albany Democrat*,—and culled incidents and narratives long since forgotten. County histories, State and Federal documents, have also been of great assistance to the compiler. The volume contains the portraits of Governor Whitcomb, Adjutant-General David Reynolds and the colonels of the five Indiana regiments which served in the war. The controversy about the retreat of the second regiment is brought forward with papers and reports.

There is nothing of greater value in this volume than the roster of the five regiments and the mounted riflemen. This roster is quite complete and the best ever published.

The work is a credit to Mr. Perry and provides a most useful reference work upon this portion of Indiana history.

This valuable compilation should have a good index. The extracts, reports and sketches are difficult to find without such an index. This is lacking. For instance: "A tug of war" is of

no value, though a short extract has such a heading. "Death of W. H. Caster" instead of "Caster, W. H., Death of," is unpardonable. The index is evidently put in as a mere formality, and there is no table of contents of any sort. A reviewer can hardly condemn this shortcoming too strongly, as it deprives the book of half of its value for use in reference work or historical study.

RUSH COUNTY—HISTORICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

[Rushville Publishing Co.]

There are seven contributors to this historical atlas of Rush county. The volume contains county and township maps, with town plats, directories of the land owners, a history of the government of the county and of the schools, some biographies and a compilation of laws. The last is quite unnecessary in such a publication, even though well done.

John L. Shank writes the history of the schools, which, by the way, include the well-known Fairview Academy, a classical school of high standing conducted by Allen R. Benton, who lives now at Indianapolis, in Irvington. The biographical list is entirely too short. It should be complete if given at all. The historical outline of the county government and business is much better.

SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION—INDIANA SOCIETY, 1908.

[By Charles W. Moores. Illustrated. 163 pages. Indianapolis, 1908. Published by the Society.]

The current year book of the Indiana Society of the Sons of the American Revolution is well gotten up. It contains besides constitutional and membership matters, portraits of the presidents of the society, records of revolutionary ancestors of members of the society, and other papers of interest. Among these should be mentioned the list of pensioners of the Revolutionary War residing in Indiana in 1835, arranged by counties, copied from "Senate Documents, Pension Roll, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Volume 3." The editor of the year book gives the total as eight hundred and ten. Most of these are said to have died and have been buried in Indiana.

INDEX OF VOLUME IV.

Contributed articles are indicated by *italics*, authors of articles by **SMALL CAPS**, and books and newspapers referred to, by quotation marks.

	Page
Academies, County.....	135
<i>Alice of Old Vincennes, Notes on.</i> CHAR. B. LAMMELL	51-55
American Historical Association.....	47-48, 144-145, 233
Anthony Wayne Memorial Association.....	86
 "Baptist History, Indiana," by William T. Stott.....	 129
Bazadon, Laurent, Plaintiff in Suit.....	19
Belt Road of Indianapolis, The.....	45-49
BENTON, ALLEN R., <i>Early Educational Conditions</i>	13
Bigger, Samuel, by Jacob Julian, in "Richmond Palladium".....	74-75
Bigger, Governor.....	21
Book Reviews and Notices.....	52-54, 95-102, 142, 152, 235, 236
Bonds, Altering.....	17
"Brazil Daily Times," The Reservoir War in Clay County.....	52-53
BROWN, D. C., Reviews of Books.....	95, 151, 172
Butler College.....	15
Butler, Ovid.....	16
 "Cincinnati Commercial".....	 62
<i>Civic Value of Local History</i> , ARTHUR W. DUNN	170, 180
Clark, George Rogers, Suit against.....	16
Clark, George Rogers, Order by.....	53
Clay, Henry, at Richmond.....	117, 123
Coburn, Gen. John, Death of.....	34
Cockrum, W. M., "A Pioneer History of Indiana".....	53
COLEMAN, C. B., Reviews of Books.....	99, 237
Colleges, Denominational.....	14
Commerce, Early, in Indiana.....	1, 7
"Community and the Citizen, The," by Arthur W. Dunn, C. B. COLEMAN.....	69
Conner, Tyner & Co., Advertisement of.....	2
COTTMAN, GEO. S., <i>Early Commerce in Indiana</i>	1, 7
COTTMAN, GEO. S., Reviews of Books.....	53, 149
County Seminaries.....	164
Covington, Hon. Samuel T., Pioneer Transportation on the Ohio River.....	129, 133
Daughters of American Revolution.....	99
<i>Dawson, William, Life and Work of, Mrs. M.</i>	23
DUNCAN, H. C., <i>Austin Seward</i>	103, 110
DUNN, ARTHUR W., <i>Civic Value of Local I</i>	170-180, 205
Dunn, Jacob P.....	45, 52
Dunn, Jacob P., "True Indian Stories".....	205

	Page
<i>Early Commerce in Indiana</i> , GEO. S. COTTMAN.....	1-7
<i>Early Educational Conditions</i> , ALLEN R. BENTON.....	13-17
Early Trades Union.....	46
<i>Early Wagon Transportation</i> , GEO. S. COTTMAN.....	7-8
Educational Report, An Early, 1821.....	153
Fairview Academy, Rush County.....	13
Flag, First American, West of Atlantic States.....	85
Gas, Natural, in Indiana; An Exploited Resource.....	31-45
Gipsies.....	19
"Harrison's Administration of Indiana Territory," by Homer J. Webster, JACOB P. DUNN.....	52
Henry County Historical Society.....	23, 96
"History of Evansville and Vanderburg County," by Elliott.....	5-6
"History of Johnson County" by D. D. Banta.....	4
Historical Societies.....	90-91, 145-147, 201-202
<i>Hodgin, Cyrus Wilburn</i> , HARLOW LINDLEY.....	197-199
Horse-stealing.....	17
Horticultural Society, The First Indiana, by W. H. Ragan.....	71-79
Illinois Historical Societies.....	201-202
Improved Farm Machinery.....	18
Indian Languages.....	45
Indian History, by Jacob P. Dunn.....	102
"Indian Stories, True," Jacob P. Dunn, reviewed.....	206
Indian Village, near Lafayette.....	86
Indian Names.....	206
<i>Indiana Archives and History</i> , HARLOW LINDLEY.....	55-62
Indiana Horticultural Society, List of Members Prior to 1866.....	78
Indiana Historical Society.....	51-52, 89
"Indiana in the Mexican War," by Oran Perry, reviewed.....	207
"Indiana, A Pioneer History of," by W. M. Cockrum.....	53
<i>Indiana's Early Penal Laws</i> , GEO. S. COTTMAN.....	17
"Indianapolis, Pioneer".....	54, 174
"Indianapolis School System, Beginnings of," by A. C. Shortridge.....	101
"Indianapolis Journal".....	24
Indianapolis Water Company.....	170
Irvington, The Beginnings of.....	88-89
"Jeffersonville Evening News".....	29
"Johnson County, History of".....	4
<i>Lasselle, Charles B.</i>	199-200
Lasselle Collection, The.....	203
LINDLEY, HARLOW, <i>Indiana Archives and History</i>	55-62

INDEX OF VOLUME IV

211

	Page
LINDLEY, HARLOW, <i>Cyrus W. Hodgin</i>	187
Local Historical Societies	95, 148, 202
<i>Local History, The Civic Value of</i>	170
Logansport, "The Daily Tribune".....	189
Logansport, "Semi-Weekly Report".....	190
Manslaughter	17
Market, Ridiculously Low	5
"Marshall County, Indiana, A Twentieth Century History of," by Daniel McDonald, D. C. BROWN	152
Mayhem	17
McFarland, William, Interview with	7
Memorial of the Citizens of Northern Indiana Territory in 1804.....	141-143
"Michigan City, History of," by R. B. Oglesbee and Albert Hale, D. C. BROWN.....	151
Moore, Charles W.....	208
<i>Natural Gas in Indiana</i> , MARGARET WYNN.....	31-45
Naylor, Judge Isaac, An Autobiography.....	134-140
Neal, Judge Stephen.....	147
Negro Fortune-Teller.....	20
Northern Indiana Territory in 1804, Memorial of the Citizens of.....	141-143
Northwestern Christian University.....	15
Northwest Corner of Indiana in 1834.....	66-70
Officers, Penalty for Obstructing.....	17
Ohio Valley Historical Association.....	147, 204
Ordinance of 1787.....	15
Osborn, Arthur	28
Osborn, Isaiah, Letter of.....	28
PARKER, BENJAMIN, <i>Pioneer Features</i>	18
Perry, Oran, "Indiana in the Mexican War," reviewed.....	207
"Pioneer History of Indiana, A," by Colonel William M. Cockrum, Geo. S. COTTMAN.....	53
"Pioneer Indianapolis," by Mrs. Ida S. Stickney.....	54, 174-185
Pioneer Transportation on the Ohio River, by Samuel T. Covington.....	129-133
<i>Pioneer Features</i> , BENJAMIN S. PARKER.....	18
"Plank Roads," by Robert Dale Owen.....	8
Posey, Thomas, Will of.....	9
Prices, of Pork, Wheat, etc.....	5
Ragan, W. H., The First Indiana Horticultural Society.....	71-79
Reeser, Alva O.	86
Reservoir War in Clay County, "Brazil Daily Times".....	63-65
Robinson, Solon, Letter of.....	66-70
"Rush County—Historical, Educational and Biographical".....	208

	Page
School Lands, Sale of.....	155-159
School Inspectors.....	163
School Tax.....	163
Schools, Organization of.....	157
<i>Seward, Austin</i> , H. C. DUNCAN.....	103-106
"Sons of the American Revolution—Indiana Society".....	208
State Historical Societies.....	145, 148, 201
"St. Joseph County, History of," by Timothy E. Howard, D. C. BROWN.....	98
"Stories of Indiana," by Maurice Thompson.....	5
Teachers, Qualifications of.....	163
"Tipton, Gen. John," by M. M. Pershing.....	101
<i>Transportation, Early Wagon</i> , GEO. S. COTTMAN.....	7
"True Indian Stories," by Jacob P. Dunn, reviewed.....	205
Turpie, "Sketches of My Own Times".....	192
University, State.....	166-169
"Vincennes Sun".....	1
Vincennes Documents, From the Court Records of Knox County.....	9
<i>Wagon Transportation, Early</i> , GEO. S. COTTMAN.....	7-8
Wayne County Historical Society.....	50
<i>Work Family, The</i> , MRS. SALLIE WORK CULP.....	29
WYNN, MARGARET, <i>Natural Gas in Indiana</i>	31-45
"Young's History of Wayne County," Description of a Pioneer Store....	3

Vol. IV

DECEMBER, 1908

No. 4

Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History

Published Under the Direction of the Indiana
Historical Society

CONTRIBUTIONS
REPRINTS



BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIOGRAPHY

CONTENTS

	Page
An Early Educational Report (Reprint).....	153
The Civic Value of Local History... <i>Arthur W. Dunn</i>	170
Cyrus Wilburn Hodgkin..... <i>Harlow Lindley</i>	197
Charles B. Lasselle.....	200
Editorial—Illinois Historical Societies.....	201
Notes	203
Reviews of Books.....	205

Price, \$1.00 per Year

Single Copies, 25 Cents

Entered as second-class matter March 1, 1906, at Indianapolis, Indiana,
under the Act of Congress of March 3, 1879

Established 1882

New Telephone 5123

C. PINGPANK

Dealer in

Rare and Antiquarian Books



SEND FOR CATALOGUES

Books of Value Bought, Sold and Exchanged

On the Viaduct, 122 Virginia Ave., Indianapolis

PICTURES THAT WEAR WELL

We make it a special aim to meet the desire of discriminating buyers for pictures that wear well—the kind whose interest is ever fresh through years of intimate association.

THE H. LIEBER COMPANY

24 WEST WASHINGTON STREET INDIANAPOLIS INDIANA

HOMES DESIRED FOR CHILDREN

The agents of the Board of State Charities have in the past year been very successful in securing a large number of good homes for dependent children who are public wards. There are still a large number of desirable children available for placing in suitable homes. Doubtless there are many families that would make a home for a child. An important part of the Board's work is to bring the homeless child and childless home together. The Board solicits the cooperation of all who are interested in securing proper homes in families for children. For further information address

BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES,
STATE HOUSE, INDIANAPOLIS.

BOOKS BY MEN WHO HAVE MADE INDIANA HISTORY

By HENRY CLAY HARRISON

Years of an Indian

Net, \$3.00

Containing all of Mr. Harrison's addresses and writings of interest to public interest, from the close of his administration to the death.

By ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE

The Making of the Times

Net, \$1.50

Including Senator Beveridge's important public addresses made in the last ten years.

By WILLIAM H. ENGLISH

The Conquest of the Northwest

2 vols., Net, \$6.00

A graphic and authoritative history of the country northwest of the Ohio river, 1774-1783.

By DANIEL WAIT HOWE

Civil War Times

Net, \$2.00

A volume of personal reminiscences and first-hand information.

By DANIEL MERRILL

With Indiana in the War of the Rebellion

Net, \$2.50

A stirring record of the services of a gallant regiment.

By DANIEL MERRILL

My Own Times

Net, \$2.00

Collections of an acute observer and distinguished man covering fifty years and containing much material concerning the pioneer period.

By DANIEL MERRILL

Addresses

2 vols., Net, \$6.00

Addresses, forensic addresses and political speeches.

THE DANIEL MERRILL COMPANY

INDIANAPOLIS

~~931-45615~~

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 03948 1679



~~AUG 15~~

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 03948 1679

